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rather wound than soothe you. Trust me, I have greatly lamented the severe trial to which both yourself and —— have been exposed, though the manly tenderness and firmness of your letters were sufficient to prove that you are both fully equal to sustain your share of the sorrows to which, in different ways, we all must be liable, and which, I fully believe, and it is a belief without which I could not be happy, are as truly designed for our improvement and advantage, as the physic we give to a sick man.

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“ That your little group of treasures may be long so preserved to your still increasing happiness, is my earnest and constant hope. For the poor little one whom you have lost, as she herself has greatly gained by leaving the world, it is needless to suggest any comfort.

“ Believe me, my dear friend,

“ Very truly your's,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

*To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.*

*Chester, July 31, 1818.*

“ During the few days I was in Shropshire, I heard a good deal of two New Zealand warriors, who have been brought over by a missionary society, and are staying with a clergyman in Shropshire. I was amused with one story which I was told of the youngest. Some roasted rabbits were at table which he supposed to be cats. On being asked whether New Zealanders eat cats, he answered ‘ New Zealander eatee hog, him eatee dog, him eatee rat, him eatee creeper,’ (biting his own arm like a dog in search of a flea) ‘ him eatee warrior and old woman, but him no eatee puss! ’ Yet this eater of warriors and old women is said to

be very docile to his spiritual pastors, and to have made no contemptible progress in whatever they have taught him."

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*To John Thornton, Esq.*

*Hodnet Rectory, September 8, 1818.*

" \* \* \* We left Chester five weeks since, heartily tired with our sojourn there, though, I hope, with feelings of sincere thankfulness for the blessing which we had received. I believe I wrote you word that our little Barbara was, in the first instance, a very healthy child ; during the hot weather, however, of the latter end of July, she had so violent an illness as to leave, for some days, hardly the most remote hope of her life. Thank God ! she wrestled through it surprizingly, but it left her a skeleton ;—since that time her progress has been very rapid, and as favourable as we could hope or desire, and she is really now such a baby as parents exult to show.

" The harvest here, as elsewhere, has been a blessed one, not indeed in the weight of the crops, which have been, uniformly, through this county, light ; but in the goodness of the grain, and the condition in which all, or nearly all, the winter corn has been got in.

" Has your attention ever been recalled to the subject which we discussed when we last met?—a union between the two Church Missionary societies. \* \* \* \* \*

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" I have never lived very much with men of my own profession, but I have seen more of them during my stay in Chester than has usually happened to me, and I found reason to believe that many clergymen would give their zealous assistance



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to a united body, who now hang back for fear of committing themselves, &c. &c. But one of my strongest reasons for desiring such a union is, that it would prevent that hateful spirit of party (which, at present, unhappily divides, and will, I fear, continue to divide the Church) from operating, as it now does, to the prejudice of that common object which both sides profess to have in view,—the conversion of the heathen."

*To the Bishop of ——.*

*Hodnet Rectory, Oct. 12, 1818.*

"**MY LORD,**

" May I hope your Lordship will pardon the liberty thus taken by a stranger, who would not have ventured to trespass on your valuable time, if it were not on a subject which he conceives important to the peace of the Church and the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen.

" Of the two societies established for that purpose in our Church, I have been induced to join that which is peculiarly sanctioned by your Lordship's name, as, apparently, most active, and as employing with more wisdom than the elder corporation, those powerful means of obtaining popular support, which ignorance only can deprecate or condemn. It is but justice to say that I have seen nothing which leads me to repent of this choice. But why, my Lord, (may I be permitted to ask) should there be two societies for the same precise object? Would it not be possible and advantageous to unite them both into one great body, under the same rules and the same administration, which might embrace all the different departments in which zeal for the missionary cause may be advantageous? In other words; since the charter of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, forbids their joining us, why might not we, as a body, make an offer to transfer our subscriptions, our funds, and our missionary establishments to them, on such conditions as might secure our missions from neglect, and our money from misapplication, sup-

posing such neglect or misapplication to be likely or possible? The advantages of such a union would, I humbly conceive, be great. It might go very far towards healing the breach which unhappily exists in our establishment. It would be the most efficacious answer which could be given to those imputations of a party and sectarian spirit, which, either from prejudice or misinformation, have been brought against the Church Missionary Society; and I apprehend that the efforts of Churchmen in one accordant society, would be more efficacious in the good cause, than, under present circumstances, they are likely to be.

"It must, doubtless, have occurred to your Lordship, that supposing the two societies to proceed, as I could wish them to do, with mutual good will, yet still, two societies under separate management, may often be expected to clash in their plans of doing good. Missionaries may be sent so as to interfere with each other's labours; or, for fear of such interference, advantageous openings may be neglected; nor is it possible, I conceive, for so much good to be done separately as might be effected in one regular and systematic course of proceeding. But if, as there is too much reason to apprehend, the spirit of rivalry should be excited between them, it is plain how surely that will conduct the advocates of each to a depreciation of the zeal, or orthodoxy, or success of the other; how hardly we shall be tempted to judge of each other's motives; and how unedifying a spectacle may be presented to the laity and the heathen, of missionaries contesting the validity of each other's appointments; preachers extolled or censured according to the societies which they have joined; subscriptions canvassed for by one side from a fear lest the other should obtain them; and another bone of contention added to the many which at present disturb the private repose, or lessen the public utility of clergymen.

"I know it has been thought that such rivalry is of service to the common cause of religion, by bringing forward, on one side or the other, those contributors, who, though with little genuine



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zeal for Christianity, are yet induced, ‘out of envy and strife,’ to be forward in its service. But surely, no additional stimulus of this kind is necessary, beyond that which may be obtained by setting before the public eye the great exertions of dissenting missionaries, and the danger which exists lest India and Polynesia, as well as the Cape of Good Hope, be abandoned, by our supineness, to those whom we affect to despise as ignorant enthusiasts. But, on the other hand, I need not remind your Lordship, that, though God may turn the perverseness of men to His praise, it is no less our duty to avoid whatever has a tendency to cause sin, either in ourselves or others; and that the evils of faction are such as greatly to counterbalance the incidental good which may arise from it. Surely, then, we are bound, both in prudence and charity, to remove, if possible, whatever has, however unjustly, given offence; and, at least, to make the offer of marching in the same ranks and adopting the same insignia with those who, though engaged in the same cause, will hardly, without these preliminaries, admit us to the name of allies.

“ It would ill become me to conceal from your Lordship the objections which have been urged against my project. They are such, however, as I cannot think invincible.

“ 1st. It has been said that ‘by merging our own society in that for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, we should give up to them all the credit of our exertions during the many years in which they were comparatively inactive, and that many of our supporters would be thus induced to withdraw.’—But for this apprehended loss of renown, a remedy will, I conceive, present itself in the necessary publicity of the measure which I recommend, and in the *eclat* which attends every sacrifice of individual feeling or vanity to a cause so glorious as that in which we are engaged. The simplest statement of the missions which we have formed, and the sums which we have raised, will be sufficient to procure us our due share of earthly glory. But, I confess, I have little patience with objectors, so apparently actuated by human



motives in the aid which they have furnished to the cause of Christianity, and cannot conceive their number to be very great in a society formed like our's.

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" 2dly. It has been said that 'many of our zealous supporters have no confidence in the zeal or judgement of those persons who conduct the affairs of the elder corporation, and would, therefore, not consent to the transfer of their subscriptions to such hands.' What precise ground there may be for such an objection I cannot say. I have endeavoured to provide against such a want of confidence in the scheme which I shall have the honour to state to your Lordship. In general it may be observed that nothing is so likely to raise the character of the old institution as a fresh infusion of zeal by the accession of our friends ; and that, by our activity and numbers, we may hope, in case of a union, to obtain a very decided influence in the administration of the joint establishment. But, so far as my own enquiries have extended, I can assure your Lordship that I have not been able to discover this supposed indisposition to union on the part of our members. I communicated my scheme to many clergymen whom I recently met at the meeting of our Auxiliary Society at Shrewsbury, and found them so far from expressing any repugnance to the measure, that it is by their approbation that I have been chiefly encouraged to address these suggestions to your Lordship ; nor can I doubt that, if they should be so fortunate as to obtain in your Lordship a patron and advocate, your name and talents would reconcile many to their adoption, who would have hardly given them a moment's consideration, as the plan of so obscure an individual as myself.

" 3dly. I have been told that 'our society cannot lawfully commit the management of the legacies and benefactions entrusted to their care to any other public body.'

" I conceive this to be a mistake, and that the governors of our society may, with the consent of the majority of its members, apply its funds in any manner which may tend to the furtherance of the object for which those funds were destined. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel have placed £5000 at the disposal



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of the Bishop of Calcutta<sup>1</sup>. Why, if they can do this, may not we lawfully place any sum of which we are in possession at the disposal of that society? But, lastly, it is said, that 'even if such a union were proposed on our part to the society in question, they would not accede to it.' Be it so. Yet, if the offer is made by us, and refused by them, I need not point out to your Lordship how completely we shall thus have placed ourselves in the right, and them in the wrong; how evidently we shall have proved that we neither desire separation, nor court any invidious distinction; and that whatever opposition the party might make to our society, was merely personal and factious. But I would willingly hope, that men, who are always inculcating the benefits of Church union, of a common treasury for our alms, a common direction for our benevolent exertions, would not be sorry to receive so decided a pledge of our seeking only the same objects with themselves; and that the magnitude of the aid which we should be able to tender, would overpower, in the minds of the great and honest majority, the clamours which might be raised by a few suspicious and ill-tempered individuals. And I cannot but conceive the present time peculiarly favourable for such an offer, when, if I am correctly informed, your Lordship is actually engaged, together with other prelates, in the digestion of a plan for extending the power, and reviving the activity of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. With these feelings, I venture to submit, with much real diffidence, the accompanying plan to your Lordship's consideration, requesting that, if it meets with your approbation, you will be pleased to appear as the advocate of a scheme which, coming from you, must, I think, command the attention of both societies. If, by my pen, or any other means, your Lordship thinks I may be useful in carrying it into effect, I need hardly add, that it will be my pride and pleasure to obey your orders.

"I have now only to renew my request of your Lordship's indulgence for the imperfections of my scheme, and the liberty which I have taken in addressing you; a liberty, however, which

<sup>1</sup> The Right Reverend Thomas F. Middleton, D.D.

has been prompted by my high respect for your character, as well as the importance of the subject on which I have written.

"I am sensible how little weight my name can add to any argument which I have been able to offer; and should, perhaps, have preferred addressing you in an anonymous form, if it were not that I dislike unnecessary concealment of every kind, and that I trust I may, at least, guard my proposal from the suspicion of improper motives, or intentional disrespect, when I sign myself,

" My Lord,

" Your Lordship's obedient humble servant,

" REGINALD HEBER."

" It is respectfully suggested to the members of the Church Missionary Society, that it is expedient that the said society should make the offer of uniting themselves with the Incorporated Society for Propagating Christianity in Foreign Parts, on the following conditions :

" 1st. That the Society for Propagating the Gospel do admit as members all those who are now members of the Church Missionary Society, either on the presumption of their being churchmen, which the fact of their belonging to such a society warrants; or, if a further guarantee be thought necessary in the case of the lay-members, on the recommendation of some of the clerical members of the said Society for Church Missions.

" 2dly. That, in consideration of the increase of numbers, one joint-treasurer and *three additional* secretaries be appointed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and that the same gentlemen who now hold those offices in the Church Missionary Society, be requested to accept of the treasurership and two of the said secretaryships.

" 3dly. That District Societies, either county, diocesan, or archidiaconal, be instituted, with powers to recommend new members; to raise and receive subscriptions; appoint clergymen to



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preach for the society, &c., on the plan now adopted by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

“ 4thly. That all the missionaries, schoolmasters, &c. now employed by the Church Missionary Society, shall be immediately taken into the employ of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and not dismissed unless in case of bad behaviour, but treated, in all respects, in the same manner with those which the last-named society at present supports.

“ 5thly. That, these conditions being agreed to, the Church Missionary Society will transfer to the Society for Propagating the Gospel their subscriptions, their stock, the services of their missionaries, their experience and local knowledge, and zealously co-operate with them in the support of their society, and the orthodox and orderly furtherance of their benevolent and Christian views.”

*To E. D. Davenport, Esq.*

*Hodnet Rectory, Nov. 27, 1818.*

“ MY DEAR DAVENPORT,

“ \* \* \* \* \* I have myself been

at home entirely, with the exception of a week’s visit to Oxford, where I found sundry contemporaries grown bald and grave, and met sundry children of my friends in the country shot up into dashing young men. That same place always presents a curious gerometer to people who have long since ceased to be resident; but I do not know that I ever felt it so much before. In some respects, it is whimsically altered from what I remember it, though, of course, the whole outward show proceeds with less visible alteration than the library of Goëthe’s grandfather, described in his Memoirs, where every thing was so old, and in such good order, that it seemed as if time had stood still, or as if the watch of society had been put back for a century. But in Oxford, notwithstanding this outward monotony, there are certain changes which an observer less keen than yourself would not fail to discover.



" First, when we remember Christ Church, it was an absolute monarchy of the most ultra-oriental character; whereas the reigning dean<sup>1</sup> is as little attended to, to all appearance, as the peishwah of the Mahrattas; the whole government resting on an oligarchy of tutor, under whom, I think, the college flourishes, at least as much as under the cloud-compelling wig of the venerable Cyril. My own old college is less altered in this respect; but the tutors there, as elsewhere in the university, are so different a race from the former stock, as to occasion a very ludicrous comparison. The old boys never stirred from home; these pass their whole vacations on the continent, are geologists, system-mongers, and I know not what. It is possible that, when we were lads, we rather underrated the generality of those set over us; but I cannot help thinking that this race of beings is, on the whole, considerably amended.

" Of the young men, I do not know that I can say much. The general story is, that they were never so diligent and so orderly as at present; all which is put down to the account of the system of examination. There is really, I think, much less lounging than formerly, which is produced, of course, by the greater frequency and regularity of lectures; but hunting seems practised to a degree considerably beyond our times; and so far as I can learn, in general they worship the same divinities who are enumerated in the Herodotan account of the university.

*Διονυσον καὶ Αρτεμίδα καὶ Αφροδίτην, ἐνοι δε φασι ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ἐρμῆν.*

" If Bacchus is somewhat less honoured, (of which, from certain sounds which reached my ears during a nightly walk, I have some doubt,) the general change of manners, in this respect, has probably had as much efficacy as any strictness of discipline.

" You will be glad to hear a good account of my wife and baby, though the latter is beginning the tedious and painful pro-

<sup>1</sup> The late Very Reverend C. H. Hall, afterwards Dean of Durham.

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cess of *cutting teeth*, as nurses say, though, judging from appearances, the best expression is *being cut* by them. Emily has been a good deal grieved and agitated by the death of Lady Killmorey, who is a most serious loss to all her friends and relations. I never knew any body, not the mother of a family, who is likely to be so much missed.

*To John Thornton, Esq.*

December 25, 1818.

" God has been pleased to afflict us in the point where we were most sensible of affliction, and least prepared to expect it, in the death of our little daughter, which took place yesterday morning, after a severe illness of several days, and one night passed in strong convulsions. She had been not perfectly well for the last month, which was attributed to her teeth coming; but I now apprehend that water had been forming in her head during that time; this was the cause of her death. Emily has borne her loss with as much tranquillity as I could expect; she has received the Sacrament from my hands this morning, and is, I believe, fully resigned, and sensible of God's abundant mercy, even when His afflictions fall heaviest. I am myself more cut down than I thought I should, but I hope not impatient; though I cannot help thinking that whatever other children I may be blessed with, I shall never love any like this little one, given me after so many years' expectation, and who promised in personal advantages and intelligence to be even more than a parent ordinarily hopes for. But I do not forget that to have possessed her at all, and to have enjoyed the pleasure of looking at her and caressing her for six months, was God's free gift, and still less do I forget that He who has taken her will, at length, I hope, restore her to us. God bless you in your wife and children, my dear Thornton, as well as with all other mercies, is the sincere prayer of

" Your affectionate friend,

" REGINALD HEBER."



## CHAPTER XVI.

*Lines by Dr. Turner—Fragment of a poem on the same subject with Montgomery's "World before the Flood"—Bristed's "America"—"The outward-bound Ship" "The Ground Swell"—Lines to C. H. Townshend "On Hope"—Ordination sermon—Letter to the editor of the Christian Remembrancer.*

THE afflicting event mentioned in the last letter, happened at Catton, in Staffordshire, the seat of the late Eusebius Horton, Esq. The following prayer written after his return home, on the 9th of January, in the ensuing year, appears among Mr. Reginald Heber's memoranda. "*Miserere nostrum, Deus! Lugentis orbæque matris audi preces; tuique (quod omnium est optimum) da Spiritus solatium per Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum. Amen.*"

The loss of their only child was long and severely felt by her parents; her father could never think of or name her without tears; and his private devotions generally concluded with an earnest prayer that he might, at his last hour, be found worthy to rejoin his sinless child. And who shall doubt that his prayer has been accepted!

In the hymn commencing "Thou art gone to the grave," may be traced the feelings which this bereavement occasioned<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Soon after the editor's return from India, the following stanzas were given her by a friend, who only knew that they were written by a clergyman in Cheshire. It is a satisfaction to her to have learnt, that these lines, so expressive of the feeling with which their author heard of the loss the Eastern Church had sustained, were written by Dr. Turner, who has himself been



About this time Mr. Reginald Heber dismissed one of his servants for drunkenness, after many trials and broken promises of amendment. In his diary on this occasion the following passage occurs : “ *O qui me aliorum judicem peccatorum et vindicem fecisti Deus, miserere mei peccatoris, et libera me ab omni peccato per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.* ”

*To the Lady Isabella King.*

*Hodnet Rectory, March 17, 1819.*

“ DEAR MADAM,

“ Owing to my absence from home I did not receive the honour of your Ladyship’s former letter till some days after its arrival at Hodnet, and I felt so much vexed at the delay which had taken place in the fulfilment of my engagement (though I can assure you that this delay has chiefly arisen from causes over which I had no controul), that I determined not to answer it till I should have sent off to Mr. Gifford an article on the subject of the Bailbrook House establishment. At this I had, in fact, been working, as fast as my few leisure hours allowed me, when I received your last letter announcing that Mr. Southey had undertaken it. I will not dissemble the pleasure which this circumstance has given me, because I am quite convinced, without any mock modesty on my part, that he is precisely the writer in the world best qualified to do justice to the subject, and to recommend (both by his eloquence and his sense of the political importance of

called to the same scene of Christian labour ; with a similar spirit of self-devotion, and a similar readiness to labour in the service of his Lord.

Thou art gone to the grave ! and while nations bemoan thee  
 Who drank from thy lips the glad tidings of peace ;  
 Yet grateful, they still in their heart shall enthrone thee,  
 And ne’er shall thy name from their memory cease.

Thou art gone to the grave ! but thy work shall not perish,  
 That work which the Spirit of wisdom hath blest ;  
 His might shall support it, His mercy shall cherish,  
 His love make it prosper, tho’ thou art at rest.



the subject) the institution to the world. I will also confess, that, though I can assure you I have often, very often, attempted to embody my ideas into such a form as might be fit for a review, I have felt so much difficulty in the task, that I am not sorry to be released from it. I believe this difficulty arose from the obvious utility of the establishment itself, which gave me no objections to *combat*, and from the good sense and propriety of the rules which your Ladyship has framed, which really left me no objections to *make*. I endeavoured to supply the want of these, the most usual materials for a critic's task, by entering into a history of the different establishments on the continent, destined in like manner to the support and comfort of females of the higher class; but here, unfortunately, I found much difficulty in obtaining information. In short, I have been twenty times over on the point of writing to your Ladyship, to give up my engagement, had not my real anxiety to promote so good a cause rendered me very unwilling to do so. I shall write by this day's post to Mr. Gifford, who, as he expects an article from me on the subject, would, possibly, have been otherwise surprised at receiving one from Mr. Southey<sup>1</sup>. For myself I have only to thank you most sincerely for the patience which you have shown to an ally so tardy and useless as I am, and beg you to believe me,

“ Dear Madam,

“ Your Ladyship's obliged humble servant,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

*To the Rev. T. E. S. Hornby.*

*Hodnet Rectory, May 17, 1819.*

“ MY DEAR HORNBY,

“ I can assure you that I have often regretted the long cessation of a correspondence, which used to be most agreeable to me, and the more so because I have had reason to apprehend

<sup>1</sup> The article here alluded to is on “ British Monachism,” in the Quarterly Review for 1819.



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that I was myself the defaulter in it. The truth is, I have been for several years back pretty regularly and closely employed, and have found every year less and less time to bestow on any occupation, except those which habit or professional duty render necessary to me. And thus it has happened that the letters which I have written to my friends have become shorter and fewer, till I grew ashamed to remind those who had reason to think I had neglected them, that there was such a person as Reginald Heber.

“ From Wilmot, with whom, of our old friends, I have been able to keep up most intercourse, and from your brother George, whom I have had frequently the pleasure of meeting at Oxford, I have heard, from time to time, of your cheerful and exemplary resignation under continued indisposition, and (which your letter confirms) that you occasionally amused yourself with poetry, though they did not tell me that you had any thoughts of publication. To *my* criticism *you* have a very good right, since I shall always remember with pleasure your frankness and good-nature, as well as your good taste, when I used to bring the foul copy of Palestine to read to you in your dark cell at Brazen Nose, in those days when the meaning of the words head-ache and heart-ache was almost equally unknown to either of us. You may depend, therefore, on my reading any poem of yours with attention and interest, and on my giving you an honest opinion on it. I only wish my judgement may be as good as my will, and that it may not be even less to be depended on, than it formerly was in questions of taste, since my habitual studies have now, for a long time, taken a very different direction from poetry. Since my Bampton lectures, I have been occupied in collecting materials for a huge dictionary of the Bible, on the plan of Calmet, and, besides this ‘*piece de resistance*,’ have had frequent sermons to prepare for Oxford, where I am one of the select preachers. Except a few hymns, I have for a long time written no verses. I had projected at an earlier period of my career as a student in divinity, a sort of epic poem on the subject of Arthur; and have, once since, meditated a something, I know not how to call it, on the same subject

with Montgomery's 'world before the flood.' But I have had no time to take them up as any thing more than occasional amusement, and merely as such they cost me too much trouble and time to answer my purpose. My dictionary is, indeed, the pursuit in which I find the most amusement in the long run; the variety of reading which it opens to me, the shortness of the different disquisitions, which are each of them at an end before I have time to be tired of them, and the very moderate exercise of intellect in a work, where little but judgement and exactness are called for, enable me to sit down to it at odd hours, and resume it after whatever interruption may happen to me, of which the care of a large parish supplies great abundance. Yet even this sort of work has its plagues; my materials grow on me as I advance; I often despair of ever finishing my task, or of making it really useful; and I fear I may have to say, like Grotius, but with far more reason, '*Vitam perdidì operose nihil agendo.*' To these sort of thoughts your verses will be no disagreeable interruption, and I shall be obliged to you to send them. I do not know that I have much to tell you about All Souls, or any of our common friends. The Warden, you probably know, is very popular. Vaughan still in Spain, but heartily tired and meditating a retreat. The loss of the Lawleys is very severely felt by me on my visits to Oxford.

"I have been lately making a push for the preachership of Lincoln's Inn, with very small hopes of success, Lloyd of Christ Church being supported by the interest of Mr. Peel.

"Believe me, dear Hornby,

"Your's very sincerely,

"REGINALD HEBER.

"Both my wife and myself are sincerely obliged by the kind sympathy which you express in our recent loss. It was so great and unexpected a blessing to us to have, even for a short time, the exquisite sensations of parental fondness, that, in the recollection of what we have had, and the hope of again seeing the

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beloved being who was lent us, we have still much to be thankful for. Her health, which was much shaken, is I hope gradually recovering.”

The poem on the same subject with Montgomery’s “world before the flood,” was never completed; as a fragment it is here introduced.

“The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair.”—GEN. vi. 2.

THERE came a spirit down at eventide  
 To the city of Enoch, and the terrac’d height  
 Of Jared’s palace. On his turret top  
 There Jared sate, the king, with lifted face  
 And eyes intent on Heaven, whose sober light  
 Slept on his ample forehead, and the locks  
 Of crissed silver; beautiful in age,  
 And, (but that pride had dimm’d, and lust of war,  
 Those reverend features with a darker shade,) Of saintly seeming,—yet no saintly mood,  
 No heavenward musing fix’d that steadfast eye,  
 God’s enemy, and tyrant of mankind.  
 To whom that demon herald, from the wing  
 Alighting, spake: “Thus saith the prince of air,  
 Whose star flames brightest in the van of night,  
 Whom gods and heroes worship, all who sweep  
 On sounding wing the arch of nether heaven,  
 Or walk in mail the earth,—‘Thy prayers are heard,  
 And the rich fragrance of thy sacrifice  
 Hath not been wasted on the winds in vain.  
 Have I not seen thy child, that she is fair?  
 Give me thine Ada, thy beloved one,  
 And she shall be my queen; and from her womb  
 Shall giants spring, to rule the seed of Cain,  
 And sit on Jared’s throne!” Then Jared rose,  
 And spread his hands before the Evil Power,  
 And lifted up his voice and laugh’d for joy.  
 “Say to my Lord, Thus saith the king of men,—  
 Thou art my god,—thy servant I,—my child  
 Is as thine handmaid!—Nay, abide awhile,

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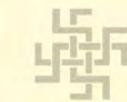
To taste the banquet of an earthly hall,  
 And leave behind thy blessing!” But, in mist,  
 And like a vision from a waken’d man,  
 The cloudy messenger dissolved away,  
 There melting where the moonbeam brightest fell.  
 Then Jared turn’d, and from the turret top  
 Call’d on his daughter—“Haste, my beautiful!  
 Mine Ada, my beloved! bind with flowers  
 Thy coal-black hair, and heap the sacred pile  
 With freshest odours, and provoke the dance  
 With harp and gilded organ, for this night  
 We have found favour in immortal eyes,  
 And the great gods have bless’d us.” Thus he spake,  
 Nor spake unheeded; in the ample hall  
 His daughter heard, where, by the cedar fire,  
 Amidst her maidens, o'er the ivory loom  
 She pass'd the threads of gold. They hush'd the song  
 Which, wafted on the fragrant breeze of night,  
 Swept o'er the city like the ring-dove's call;  
 And forth with all her damsels Ada came,  
 As mid the stars the silver-mantled moon,  
 In stature thus and form pre-eminent,  
 Fairest of mortal maids. Her father saw  
 That perfect comeliness, and his proud heart  
 In purer bliss expanded. Long he gaz'd,  
 Nor wonder deem'd that such should win the love  
 Of Genius or of Angel; such the cheek  
 Glossy with purple youth, such the large eye,  
 Whose broad black mirror, through its silken fringe,  
 Glisten'd with softer brightness, as a star  
 That nightly twinkles o'er a mountain well;  
 Such the long locks, whose raven mantle fell  
 Athwart her ivory shoulders, and o'er-spread  
 Down to the heel her raiment's filmy fold.  
 She, bending first in meekness, rose to meet  
 Her sire's embrace, than him alone less tall,  
 Whom, since primœval Cain, the sons of men  
 Beheld unrivalled; then, with rosy smile,  
 “What seeks,” she said, “my father? Why remain  
 On thy lone tower, when from the odorous hearth  
 The sparkles rise within, and Ada's hand  
 Hath deck'd thy banquet?” But the king replied,—  
 “O fairest, happiest, best of mortal maids,

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My pray'r is heard, and from yon western star  
 Its lord hath look'd upon thee ; as I sate  
 Watching the Heavens, a Heavenly spirit came  
 From him whom chiefest of the host of Heav'n  
 Our fathers honour'd,—whom we nightly serve  
 (Since first Jehovah scorn'd such sacrifice,) 1  
 With frankincense and flowers and oil and corn,  
 Our bloodless offering ; him whose secret strength  
 Hath girded us to war, and given the world  
 To bow beneath our sceptre. He hath seen  
 My child, that she is fair, and from her womb  
 Shall giants spring, to rule the seed of Cain,  
 And sit on Jared's throne. What, silent ! nay,  
 Kneel not to me ; in loud thanksgiving kneel  
 To him whose choice—Now by the glorious stars  
 She weeps, she turns away ! Unhappy child,  
 And lingers yet thy mother's boding lore  
 So deeply in thy soul ? Curse on the hour  
 That ever Jared bore a bride away  
 From western Eden ! Have I train'd thy youth  
 Untouch'd by mortal love, by mortal eyes  
 Seen and ador'd far off, and in the shrine  
 Of solemn majesty reserv'd, a flower  
 Of guarded paradise, whom men should praise,  
 But angels only gather ? Have I toil'd  
 To swell thy greatness, till our brazen chain  
 From furthest Ararat to ocean's stream  
 Hath bound the nations ? And when all my vows  
 At length are crown'd, and Heav'n with earth conspires  
 To yield thee worship, dost thou then rebel,  
 And hate thy happiness ? Bethink thee, maid,  
 E'er yet thine answer, not to be recalled,  
 Hath pass'd those ivory gates—bethink thee well.  
 Who shall recount the blessings which our gods  
 Have richly lavish'd on the seed of Cain ?  
 And who, if stung by thine ingratitude,  
 Can meet their vengeance ? Then the maiden rose,  
 And folding on her breast her ivory arms,  
 “ Father,” she said, “ thou deem'st thy warrior gods  
 Are mighty,—One above is mightier :  
 Name Him, they tremble. Kind, thou call'st them ;  
 Lavish of blessings. Is that blessedness  
 To sin with them ? to hold a hideous rule,

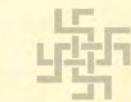
Water'd with widows' tears and blood of men,  
 O'er those who curse our name? Thy bands went forth,  
 And brought back captives from the palmy side  
 Of far Euphrates. One thou gavest me,  
 A woman, for mine handmaid; I have heard  
 Her mournful songs as, in the strangers' land  
 She wept and plied the loom. I question'd her:  
 Oh, what a tale she told! And are they good,  
 The gods whose works these are? They are not good,—  
 And, if not good, not gods. But there is One,  
 I know, I feel, a good, a Holy One,  
 The God who fills my heart, when, with glad tears,  
 I think upon my mother; when I strive  
 To be like her, like her to soothe thy cares  
 With perfect tenderness. O father, king,  
 Most honour'd, most belov'd, than Him alone  
 Who gives us all less worshipp'd! at thy feet  
 I lowly cast me down; I clasp thy knees,  
 And, in her name whom most of womankind  
 Thy soul hath bless'd, by whose bed of death  
 In short-liv'd penitence thy sorrow vow'd  
 To serve her God alone,—forgive me now:  
 If I resemble her!" But in fierce wrath  
 The king replied,—“And know'st thou not, weak girl,  
 Thy God hath cast us off? hath scorn'd of old  
 Our father's offering, driven us from His face,  
 And mark'd us for destruction? Can thy prayer  
 Pierce through the curse of Cain—thy duty please  
 That terrible One, whose angels are not free  
 From sin before Him?” Then the maiden spake:  
 “Alas! I know mine own unworthiness,  
 Our hapless race I know. Yet God is good;  
 Yet is He merciful: the sire of Cain  
 Forgiveness found, and Cain himself, though steep'd  
 In brother's blood, had found it, if his pride  
 Had not disdain'd the needful sacrifice,  
 And turn'd to other masters. One shall be,  
 In after times, my mother wont to tell,  
 Whose blood shall help the guilty. When my soul  
 Is sick to death, this comfort lingers here,  
 This hope survives within me; for His sake,  
 Whose name I know not, God will hear my prayer,  
 And, though He slay me, I will trust in Him.”



Here Ada ceas'd, for from her father's eye  
 The fire flash'd fast, and on his curling lip  
 The white foam trembled. “Gone,” he cried, “all gone !  
 My heart's desire, the labour of my youth,  
 Mine age's solace gone ! Degenerate child,  
 Enemy of our gods, chief enemy  
 To thine own glory ! What forbids my foot  
 To spurn thy life out, or this dreadful hand  
 To cast thee from the tower a sacrifice  
 To those whom thou hast scorn'd ? Accursed be thou  
 Of Him thou seek'st in vain ! accursed He,  
 Whose hated worship hath enticed thy feet  
 From the bright altars of the host of Heaven !  
 I curse Him—mark me well—I curse Him, Ada !  
 And, lo ! He smiteth not !” But Ada bow'd  
 Her head to earth, and hid her face, and wept  
 In agony of prayer. “Yea,” cried the king,  
 “Yea, let Him smite me now, for what hath life  
 Left worth the keeping ? Yet, I thank the stars,  
 Vengeance may yet be mine ! Look up and hear  
 Thy monarch, not thy father ! Till this hour  
 I have spar'd thy mother's people ; they have pray'd,  
 And hymn'd, and have blasphem'd the prince of air ;  
 And, as thou saimest, they have curs'd my reign ;  
 And I have spar'd them ! But no longer—no !  
 Thyself hast lit the fire, nor Lucifer  
 Shall longer tax my sword for tardy zeal,  
 And thou shalt live to see it !” From his path  
 He spurn'd his prostrate child, and, groaning, wrapt  
 The mantle round his face, and pass'd away  
 Unheard of her whom, stretch'd in seeming death,  
 Her maidens tended. Oh that, in this hour  
 Her soul had fled indeed, nor wak'd again  
 To keener suffering ! Yet shall man refuse  
 The bitter cup whose dregs are blessedness ?  
 Or shall we hate the friendly hand which guides  
 To nobler triumph thro' severer woe ?  
 Thus Ada murmured, thus within her spake  
 (In answer to such impious murmurings)  
 A spirit not her own. Stretch'd on her couch  
 She silent lay. The maidens had retir'd  
 Observant of her rest. Her nurse alone,  
 Shaking and muttering with a parent's fear



Knelt by her side, and watch'd her painful breath,  
 And the wild horror of her fixed eye,  
 And long'd to hear her voice. “ Peninnah ! thou !  
 My mother is it thou ?” the princess cried ;  
 And that old woman kiss'd her feet and wept  
 In rapturous fondness. “ Oh my child ! my child !  
 The blessing of thy mother's mighty God  
 Rest on thine innocent head, and 'quite thy love  
 For those kind accents. All, my lovely one,  
 All may be well. Thy father doats on thee,  
 And, when his wrath is spent, his love, be sure  
 Will grant thee all thy will. Oh lamps of Heaven !  
 Can ye behold her thus nor pity her !  
 Is this your love, ye gods !” “ Name not the gods,”  
 The princess cried, “ the wretched gods of Cain ;  
 My mother's God be mine ; they are no gods  
 Whose fleshly fancy doats on mortal clay,  
 Whose love is ruin ! Thinkest thou this night  
 I have first withstood their tempting ? first have proved  
 Their utter weakness ?” “ Have the angels, then,  
 Visited thee of old ?” the nurse enquired,  
 “ Or hath thy father told thee of their love  
 And thou hast kept it from me ?” As she spake  
 A bright and bitter glance of lofty scorn  
 Shot from the virgin's eyes. A mantling blush  
 Of hallowed courage darkened on her cheek ;  
 She waved her arm as one whose kingly state  
 Repels intrusion from his privacy,  
 And answered with a calm but painful smile,  
 “ They are beside us now ! Nay quake not thus,  
 I fear them not, yet they are terrible—  
 But they are past, resist them and they flee,  
 And all is peace again ; yet have I groan'd  
 Beneath such visitation, till my faith  
 In Him I serve hath almost pass'd away.”  
 With that she rose, and, wrapt in silent thought,  
 Gazed through the portal long,—then paced awhile  
 The marble pavement, now from side to side  
 Tossing her restless arms, now clasping close  
 Her hands in supplication, lifting now  
 Her eloquent eyes to Heaven,—then sought again  
 Her lowly couch, and, by the nurse's side,  
 Resum'd the wond'rous tale. “ Oh friend,” she cried,



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“ And only mother now, yon silver moon  
 Has twenty times renew'd her course in Heaven,  
 Since, as my bosom o'er its girlish zone  
 With painful tightness rose, I bade thee change  
 Th' imprisoning cincture. Can'st thou yet recal  
 Thy playful words of praise—thy prophecies  
 Of one to loose ere long that golden clasp,  
 A royal bridegroom? Strange to me, thy words  
 Sunk in my soul, and busy fancy strove  
 To picture forth that unknown visitant,  
 His form and bearing. Musing thus, and lost  
 In troubled contemplation, o'er my soul  
 A heavy slumber fell; I sank not down;  
 I saw, I heard, I moved; the spell was laid  
 Within me, and from forth my secret heart  
 A stranger's accents came: ‘ Oh! blessed maid!  
 Most beautiful, most honoured! not for thee  
 Be mortal marriage, nor the feeble love  
 Of those whose beauty is a morning dream,  
 Whose age a shadow. What is man, whose day  
 In the poor circuit of a thousand years,  
 Revert again to dust? Thee, maiden! thee  
 The Gods have seen; the never-dying stars  
 Gaze on thy loveliness, and thou shalt reign  
 A new Astarté. Bind thy flowing hair,  
 Brace on thy sandals, seek the myrtle grove  
 West of the city, and the cavern well,  
 Whose clear black waters from their silent spring  
 Ripple with ceaseless stir: thy lover there  
 Waits thee in secret, and thy soul shall learn  
 The raptures of a god! But cast away  
 That peevish bauble which thy mother gave,  
 Her hated talisman.’ That word recall'd  
 My straggling senses, and her dying prayer  
 Passed through my soul like fire; the tempter fell  
 Abash'd before it, and a living voice  
 Of most true consolation o'er me came,  
 ‘ Nor love nor fear them, Ada; love not them  
 Who hate thy mother's memory; fear not them  
 Who fear thy mother's God; for this she gave,  
 Prophetic of this hour, that graven gold,  
 Which bears the title of the Eternal One,  
 And binds thee to my service; guard it well,



And guard the faith it teaches ; safer so  
 Than girt around by brazen walls, and gates  
 Of seven-fold cedar.’ Since that hour, my heart  
 Hath kept its covenant, nor shrunk beneath  
 The spirits of evil ; yet, not so repelled,  
 They watch me in my walks, spy out my ways,  
 And still with nightly whispers vex my soul,  
 To seek the myrtle thicket. Bolder now,  
 They speak of duty—of a father’s will,  
 Now first unkind—a father’s kingly power,  
 Tremendous when opposed. My God, they say,  
 Bids me revere my parent ; will He guard  
 A rebel daughter ? Wiser to comply,  
 Ere force compells me to my happiness,  
 And to my lover yield that sacrifice  
 Which else my foe may seize. Oh, God ! great God !  
 Of whom I am, and whom I serve alone,  
 Be Thou my strength in weakness—Thou my guide,  
 And save me from this hour !” Thus, as she spake,  
 With naked feet and silent, in the cloud  
 Of a long mantle wrapt, as one who shuns  
 The busy eyes and babbling tongues of men,  
 A warrior enter’d ; o’er his helm  
 The casque was drawn      \*      \*      \*

\*      \*      \*      \*      \*

*To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.*

*Hodnet Rectory, June 12, 1819.*

“ It gave me much pleasure to see the other day that you had found your tongue again in the House of Commons. I am convinced you are quite right in not, during this early stage of your political career, aiming at any very ambitious style of oratory. In fact, the subjects which have been before the house have none of them been of a kind to call for, or admit of it ; and it would have been a very short step indeed to the ridiculous from that sublime which should be exercised on the prison committee, or the bank restrictions.

“ On any question wherein, as Lancelot Gobbo hath it, it may



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be advisable to 'raise the waters,' I have little doubt of your being quite sufficiently animated and energetic.

" So my talents 'in the eloquential line,' as I once saw it happily expressed in an American newspaper, are not likely to be displayed at Lincoln's Inn. I was not much disappointed at being obliged to relinquish my pursuit. I should, indeed, have liked the situation very much, but the cold water had been so gradually applied to my hopes, that their final refrigeration, when it came, was hardly perceptible. I had then, too, a nearer source of quietude in my wife's health, which had been, for some time back, very uncomfortable, but which has since visibly felt the good effects of Darwin's skill. About the middle of next month we intend to go to Seacome, a bathing-place between the ferry of that name, opposite Liverpool, and the Black Rock, with both of which you are acquainted.

" Have you looked over Bristed's " America ?" I think it a curious book, full of useful information, and written, though with prejudices decidedly American, in a tone of more candour than you would guess if you only judge of it from the Quarterly, whose zeal against the Americans need not be expressed quite so strongly.

" I have been for some time engaged in correcting, collecting, and arranging all my hymns, which, now that I have got them together, I begin to have some high Church scruples against using in public. Otherwise, I have a promise of many fine old tunes, not Scotch as I once dreamed of having, but genuine Church melodies. This amusement, for I cannot call it business, together with the business which I cannot call amusement, of making two sermons weekly, has left me very little time either for my dictionary or the Quarterly. Yet the first goes on, however slowly; and for the latter, I am preparing an article on Kinneir's Travels, compared with Rennel's retreat of the ten thousand, and another on Hunt's translation of Tasso, one or both of which may possibly appear next number. I have also been reading and extracting from Dr. Hale's new system of Chronology from beginning to end. I did this

chiefly with a view to my dictionary, but am also inclined, if I have leisure, to make a review of it.

" How do the opposition like their new leader ? his tactics do not seem to have been good lately. Above all, however, I feel anxious to know what is your opinion on the ultimate fate of the Catholic question ?

\* \* \* \* \*

" This has been a very interesting session, but has it not also been an unusually stormy one ? I do not recollect having read of more noisy houses than you have lately had, nor of more ill-tempered and almost *challengeable* expressions made use of. It is, however, edifying to see in how very Christian-like a manner the members of your house have learned to scold and retort, ' scorn,' &c. without drawing blood ; and I am more and more convinced, what you were not willing to believe, that the occasions are very few indeed, on which it is necessary, according to the practice of the world, for a public man to fight a duel."

In the course of the next summer the editor was ordered to the sea for the recovery of her health, which had been much affected by the sorrow she had endured. The day of her departure was marked in her husband's diary by the following prayer :

" *Faveas, Deus bone, itineri, saluti faveas firmoremque reddas; animi concede tranquillitatem: nostrumque invicem amorem adauge per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*"

On his own birth-day he writes, " *O quam utinam a peccatis annorum præteriorum abhinc discederem ! Summe Deus, pro vita quam dedisti humillimas ago gratias. Concedas etiam, Pater, Tui Spiritus auxilium, ut quicquid vitae supererit Tibi vivam ! per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*"

At Seacome, where Mr. Reginald Heber soon re-joined the editor, he had more leisure than usual for poetical composition. The sea always possessed a peculiar charm for his imagination, and formed the subject of many of his short poems, from which the following are selected :



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### THE OUTWARD-BOUND SHIP.

As borne along with favouring gale,  
 And streamers waving bright,  
 How gaily sweeps the glancing sail  
 O'er yonder sea of light !  
 With painted sides the vessel glides  
 In seeming revelry,  
 And still we hear the sailor's cheer  
 Around the capstan tree.  
 Is sorrow there, where all is fair,  
 Where all is outward glee ?  
 Go, fool, to yonder mariner  
 And he shall lesson thee.  
 Upon that deck walks tyrant sway,  
 Wild as his conquered wave,  
 And murmuring hate that must obey,—  
 The captain and his slave !  
 And pinching care is lurking there,  
 And dark ambition's swell,  
 And some that part with bursting heart  
 From objects loved too well.  
 And many a grief with gazing fed  
 On yonder distant shore,  
 And many a tear in secret shed  
 For friends beheld no more ;  
 Yet sails the ship with streamers drest  
 And shouts of seeming glee ;  
 Oh God ! how loves the mortal breast  
 To hide its misery !

### THE GROUND SWELL.

How soft the shades of evening creep  
 O'er yonder dewy sea,  
 Whose balmy mist has lull'd to sleep  
 The tenants of the tree.  
 No wandering breeze is here to sweep  
 In shadowy ripple o'er the deep,  
 Yet swells the heaving sea.



How calm the sky ! rest, ocean, rest,  
From storm and ruffle free ;  
Calm as the image on thy breast,  
Of her that governs thee !  
And yet, beneath the moon's mild reign,  
Thy broad breast heaves as one in pain,  
Thou dark and silent sea !

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There are whom fortune vainly woos  
With all her pageantry,  
Whom every flattering bliss pursues,  
Yet still they fare like thee ;  
The spell is laid within their mind,  
Least wretched then when most resigned,  
Their hearts throb silently.

TO CHAUNCY HARE TOWNSHEND,

ON HIS LINES PRAISING THE TRANQUILLITY OF A RIVER, WHILE THE SEA  
WAS HEARD ON THE NEIGHBOURING SHORE<sup>1</sup>.

Oh Townshend could'st thou linger where scarce a ripple played  
Around the lily's glossy stem, or beneath the willow's shade ;  
And did that mighty chorus allure thy bark in vain,  
The laughter of the dancing waves, and music of the main ?

The breeze may tell his story of soft and still delight,  
As, whispering through the woodbine bower, he fans the cheek of night,  
But louder, blither sings the wind his carol wild and free,  
When the harvest moon sails forth in pride above her subject sea.

I love to tread the little paths, the rushy banks between,  
Where Tern<sup>2</sup>, in dewy silence, creeps through the meadow green ;  
I love to mark the speckled trout beneath the sun-beam lie,  
And skimming past, on filmy wing, the danger-courting fly.

<sup>1</sup> See Townshend's Poems, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> A narrow winding stream which runs through the parish of Hodnet, and joins the Severn below Shrewsbury.—ED.



## “ON HOPE.”

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I praise the darker shadows where, o'er the runnel lone,  
The regal oak, or swarthy pine, their giant arms have thrown ;  
Or, from his couch of heather, where Skiddaw bends to view,  
The furrows of his rifted brow, in Derwent's mirror blue.

But not that narrow stillness has equal charms for me,  
With thy ten thousand voices, thou broad exulting sea !  
Thy shining sands, thy rugged shores, thy breakers rolling bright,  
And all thy dim horizon speck'd with sails of moving light.

Oft on thy wonders may I gaze, oft on thy waters ride ;  
Oft, with no timid arm, essay thy dark transparent tide ;  
Oft may thy sound be in my dreams, far inland though I be,  
For health and hope are in thy song, thou deep full-voiced sea !

## ON HOPE.

Reflected on the lake I love  
To see the stars of evening glow,  
So tranquil in the Heaven above,  
So restless in the wave below.

Thus Heavenly hope is all serene ;  
But earthly hope, how bright soe'er,  
Still flutters o'er this changing scene,  
As false, as fleeting as 'tis fair !

Mr. Reginald Heber's return home was recorded in a prayer of thanksgiving for the improved state of his wife's health :

“ *Gratias ago tibi, Deus omnipotens ; gratum me reddas ex animo, Pater optime ! ob uxorem saluti redditam ; sanioremque me et religiosiorem reddas per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*”



*To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.*

*Vale Royal, September 29, 1819.*

“ When your letter reached me, I had just received a request from the Bishop of Chester to preach an ordination sermon, which, as being a public occasion, and as being an unusual compliment to a clergyman belonging to another diocese, required as much pains and thought, at least, as one of my Oxford sermons, and was attended with the additional difficulty that I was at the time from home, and out of reach of any books.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ Another topic has, indeed, lately driven all parliamentary disputes out of the field in this neighbourhood; ; and from Seacombe to Llangollen, and Llangollen to Shrewsbury, we hear of nothing but Manchester, Manchester! Of course men speak of the proceedings there according to their political bias.” \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

In the course of this year (1819) a royal letter was granted, authorizing collections to be made in every Church and Chapel of England, in furtherance of the Eastern operations of the Society for Propagating the Gospel. Mr. Reginald Heber went to Wrexham to hear the Dean of St. Asaph preach on the day appointed ; and, at his request, he wrote the hymn commencing,

“ From Greenland’s icy mountain,”

which was first sung in that beautiful Church.

In one of the numbers of the Christian Remembrancer for this year, a letter appeared under the signature of “ An Early Subscriber,” containing some severe animadversions on the supporters of the Bible Society. Anxious to vindicate an association, the good effects of which he had been one of the first to see and to promote, from the unjust accusations brought against it, Mr.

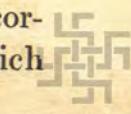
Reginald Heber wrote an answer to the editor, under the title of "An Arminian." As it was that gentleman's wish to avoid taking a part in the unhappy controversy to which the Bible Society had given rise, he, in the following words, declined publishing the letter: "It is with regret that we refuse to insert the candid and liberal arguments of 'An Arminian.' We have stated our sentiments on the subject to which he refers, but have refrained from entering into the general discussion of it; the publication of his letter would involve us in a very unprofitable controversy." The original letter, with a rejoinder, caused by this refusal of its insertion in the Christian Remembrancer, will now be given to the public.

*To the Editor of the Christian Remembrancer.*

"SIR,

"The avowed object of your publication, and, still more, the candid and Christian spirit which has hitherto distinguished it, induce me to hope that, however your opinion may, in some respects, differ from mine on the subject of the following observations, you will not be unwilling to hear both sides, and give circulation to whatever may tend to remove or diminish mutual prejudice and misunderstanding among the members of the Church of England.

"Like your correspondent, 'An Early Subscriber,' I am one of those clergymen who have, for several years, supported the Bible Society; though I have not, like him, seen any reason to make me hesitate as to continuing my subscription. I shall be happy if I can soften his rising displeasure; but I shall also beg leave to embrace in my answer a somewhat wider field than that to which his objections would confine me, in justification of myself, and of those who have acted like me. It is not, however, necessary that I should occupy your valuable pages with the general controversy of how far the principles on which we acted have been correct or mistaken. It is our *honesty*, more than our *wisdom*, which



I, at present, wish to defend; and something will be gained, at least with some of our opponents, if I can induce them to believe, that we did not support the Bible Society from *evil* or (as your reviewer of Mr. Cowper's work expresses himself) from 'mixed motives,' and that we have a right to some little more of toleration, and even of courtesy, than we have received from some writers in the British Critic, or from the ingenious author of the '*Religio Clerici*'.

" It is a fact, I believe pretty generally known, that when the Bible Society was first instituted, the deficiency of Bibles among the lower ranks in England, Ireland, and, above all, in Wales, (to say nothing of other parts of the world,) was so great and crying, as to call for very strenuous measures to supply it; while no measures have been suggested by which this end could have been attained, except either the establishment of a new society for the dispersion of the Scriptures only, or a great augmentation of the funds of the venerable Corporation for Promoting Christian Knowledge. But there were many reasons which pointed out the first of these options as the only effectual means of remedying the evil complained of.

" The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, useful and active as it has always been, and admirable as are the principles which it has steadily continued to disseminate, was, at that time, neither so generally known, nor so accessible to new subscribers, as it has been since the establishment of diocesan committees. One of the earliest and most distinguished members of the Bible Society has been known to assert, that he had never heard the name of the elder institution till after the new one had arisen; and that he has no reason to believe that, among laymen like himself, this ignorance was unusual. And even of the clergy, whom it certainly behoved to be better informed, there were many, at that time, who were deterred from seeking admittance into the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, by the supposed necessity of a powerful recommendation, and the fear of that stigma which a rejection would cast on them. The *Evangelical* party, more par-



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ticularly, (I use this term, however improper and offensive, as one which the unhappy squabbles of late years have made sufficiently intelligible,) were alarmed by the reported rejection of a candidate recommended by Mr. Wilberforce; and were naturally inclined to carry elsewhere those contributions which they were taught to expect would not be received into the treasury of Bartlett's Buildings.

" But, even among those who disclaimed the peculiar opinions or practices of the party just mentioned, and who were themselves already contributors to the elder institution, there were many who anticipated very great advantages to religion and to the Church of England, from a society which should concentrate in the pursuit of one grand and simple object, the exertions both of churchmen and dissenters, and which, without compromising the peculiar opinions of any sect, should embrace the contributions and exercise the diligence of all.

" It is plain that, by this means, an accession of strength was obtained, transcending all which could have been accumulated by members of the Church of England alone. To the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge the English dissenters would not have subscribed a single farthing; and it was as little to be expected that the Greek, the Lutheran, and Calvinistic Churches on the continent, in Scotland and in America, would have united with her as they have with us. It is true that the dissenters, if left to themselves, *might* have established a Bible Society, and have, so far as their means extended, pursued the same plan which we have conjointly acted on. But there was abundant reason to apprehend that their assistance, thus limited, would have been extremely inadequate to the wants of the German and Swedish and Russian Christians; and that their common hostility to the Church would have suggested to all the sects (unless such a concession were bought by the co-operation of Churchmen) a less inoffensive mode of proceeding than the distribution of Bibles without note or comment, and according to the authorized version. And, where foreigners were concerned, we of the Church of England might be

well allowed to feel some jealousy, on seeing the whole Christian world in brotherly and exclusive communication with the enemies of our establishment, receiving from their hands alone the Word of Life, and giving to them alone the praise of zeal for the dissemination of the Sacred Volume.

" It is, however, a fact well worthy of attention, that the dissenters, at the time of our society's institution, were so far from meditating any thing of the kind, that the plan which they suggested, and which they abandoned, (at the instance of some Churchmen, in favour of the Bible Society,) was a new institution, on the exact plan of that for Promoting Christian Knowledge, but which should, besides the Bible, disseminate the tracts which favour their peculiar opinions. And the consequence must have been, not only that fewer Bibles would have been distributed, but that those dragons' teeth, which our enemies sow under every hedge, and thrust into every cottage, must have been multiplied in exact proportion, as less of the disposable wealth of dissenters was expended in disseminating the Scriptures.

" For, however great may have been the wealth and zeal of some individuals among the separatists, it is certain that, as a body, they are less wealthy, and not more munificent, than the members of the Church of England. The maintenance of their distinct ministry, though dispensed, for the most part, with a very sparing hand, is felt by many of them as a heavy burthen. With the greater number it may be counted on, that he who gives a guinea for the purchase of Bibles without note or comment, will distribute 250 penny tracts the fewer; and a Churchman was, therefore, justified in conceiving, that while, on the one side, the Bible Society promoted, in its direct tendency, a great and certain good, it was also, incidentally, the means of preventing a serious evil.

" If it be said that Churchmen limited their power of purchasing Prayer-books by the same process which prevented dissenters from purchasing tracts, let it be remembered that the great and urgent want of the time was, and is still, a supply of Bibles at



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home and abroad; and whether the dissenters had distributed Bibles or no, we *must*, so far as our means extended, have done so.

" But, further, it appeared to us who were members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, that we were, at least, as effectually forwarding its interests and the interests of the Church as connected with it, by relieving it of a part of its burthen, as by directly augmenting our subscriptions to its funds. My parish, for instance, requires the annual distribution of a certain number of Bibles, Prayer-books, religious tracts, and school-books. But if, continuing the same subscription to Bartlett's Buildings, I purchase all my Bibles from another quarter, it is plain that I forward the peculiar ends of the society, by distributing a greater number of tracts and Prayer-books than I formerly did; or that, by not drawing on it to the whole extent of my subscription, I leave a greater balance in its hands for general purposes. There are few clergymen at present on the list of the Bible Society who do not also belong to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and the means of the latter are certainly, therefore, not diminished by what has been most unjustly termed our *desertion* of it.

" On this point, indeed, I have been almost tempted to suppose that some of my friends, who are hostile to the Bible Society, have laboured under a singular error. They seem to have persuaded themselves that, on becoming members of that body, we enter into some engagement to distribute no Prayer-books at all, and to belong to no other association by which Prayer-books and religious tracts are disseminated. I cannot otherwise account for the stress so often laid on 'the disadvantage of giving the Scriptures to the poor, without some further help to understand them,' and 'the necessity of inculcating, on proper occasions, the peculiar doctrines of our Church;' arguments which (though excellent and invincible if used to recommend subscription to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge) are no more to the purpose when brought against *also* subscribing to the Bible Society, than they

would be against our contributions to the county hospital. But on these topics I have no time to dwell. I only beg leave to repeat, for the information of those whom it may concern, that most of the Churchmen who have acceded to that society, distribute, at least, as many Prayer-books now as they did before, or as bear a due proportion to the number of their Bibles ; that by far the greater part of us are supporters of schools on the national system ; and that we are fully sensible that the present of a New Testament is not exclusively the one thing needful to make a man an orthodox Christian.

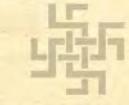
" But while, by thus uniting ourselves for a particular and, certainly, a desirable object, with the different sects of dissenters, we hoped at once to avail ourselves of their efforts in a good cause, and to divert them, in some degree, from a channel which we accounted mischievous ; while we thus increased the distribution of the Sacred Volume, and relieved the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge from a part of the burthen under which she was sinking ; these were not the only nor the ultimate hopes which we were inclined to deduce from such a union with those who spoke evil of our ecclesiastical establishment. It was the fortune of some of us to have discovered that, among the different religious sects of our own country, of the continent and of America, the opinions and habits of the English clergy, more especially of those who are called the High Church party, were very remarkably misunderstood and misrepresented. This might, in part, so far as the continent is concerned, be attributed to the conduct of a late right honourable Irish prelate, who amused himself with rambling over Europe, and disgracing, by numberless eccentricities, and infidelity almost avowed, the order of which he never performed the duties, and to all the other members of which he was a subject of indignation and sorrow. Partly too, it might arise from the fact, that of the foreigners who visit England, a great proportion symbolize with those who separate from our Church ; and are led, therefore, to form their views of it from very different sources than from



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an actual examination of our manners and doctrine. But be this as it may,—a very general prejudice existed, to my own knowledge, on the continent, against the English Church and prelacy; while the dark and inveterate misapprehensions of the dissenters at home, will be plain from a cursory inspection of their periodical publications. Nor were they the dissenters only who were thus deceived concerning us. A considerable party within the Church itself had begun to show symptoms of confining the name of ‘Evangelical and Religious,’ to the limits of their own Shibboleth, and of accounting all their brethren who disagreed with them on particular topics, as secular, at least, or careless,—if not altogether profane and carnal. Thus situated, it was an experiment, as we conceived, well worth the making, to embrace the opportunity afforded us by the new Society of showing ourselves to them as we were, as men (I speak of the collective body of Arminian clergy) who were not inferior in learning, in zeal, in ability, or in personal holiness, to any other set of men upon earth; who were as active and anxious in promoting the common cause of Christianity as they themselves could be; who were actuated, even where we differed from them, by a love of God and man as warm and disinterested as theirs; who were ready to meet them in every office of brotherly love, and to co-operate with them in every scheme of apparent utility which demanded from us no sacrifice of principle or consistency.

“ If we thus succeeded in removing their prejudices against our persons, we trusted that they would learn, by degrees, to regard our office and our claims with less aversion; that they would give us the more credit for sincerity in our peculiar opinions, when they found us earnest on those points where no difference existed between us; that they might, by degrees, be led to enquire into the grounds of our faith, and the necessity and lawfulness of their separation from us; that we might thus *prevent* that schism which was as yet only *apprehended*; remedy those ancient divisions which were chiefly founded on ignorance; that if our success was



more limited, we might, at least, glean a considerable amount of individual converts; and that, by becoming all things to all men, we should, at any rate, *save some*.

" If it be urged that the dissenters encouraged hopes which were the counterpart of ours, and that we might as reasonably apprehend that *our* people would listen to *their* allurements, as that *we* should bring *theirs* over to the truth,—our answer is, that we did not dread a comparison between our forms of worship and theirs, our preachers and theirs, our doctrine and discipline and theirs ;—that it was our purpose then, as it has been our practice always, to instruct both our own people, and such of theirs as came to hear us, upon the necessity of making a choice in religion, and the danger of halting between two opinions ; and that while we hoped to make gain of some of their party, we did not fear, and we had no reason to fear, that many out of our own flocks would desert us. There is, indeed, so much in the detail of the English Church service to attract and occupy a pious mind ; there is so much in the human heart of that natural imitativeness which induces every man (unless strongly and extraneously biassed in an opposite direction) to conform to the majority of his countrymen ; there are (so far as the higher and middling ranks are concerned) so many temporal advantages and conveniences, so much of social comfort and family interest associated with the profession of the established religion, that to obtain for it the support and affections of men, little more seems necessary than that it should be offered to them in its genuine colours, earnest without rant, dignified without ostentation, sober without needless austerity. Obtain such a hearing as may convince the dissenters that their dissent is unnecessary, and we may hope to see many a good man brought back from his perilous wanderings into the unity of the Church, and the sheepfold of his Master and ours. We, at least, judged so ; and we may safely appeal to the calm sense and candour of our accusers themselves, whether expectations of this sort, however vain they may be reckoned, were akin to the views or feelings



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of those old fanatics with whom some of them are willing to identify us.

" It is a source of much pleasure to me to be assured that, in several instances, these hopes have not been disappointed. I have seen with exultation the attention and respect with which dissenters have recognized the calm dignity and Apostolic earnestness of a Barrington, a Burgess, a Porteus, or a Fisher; men whom they had, till then, regarded as little better than so many antichrists, and whom they were surprised to find, on a nearer view, the affectionate and humble overseers of Christ's flock, whom St. Paul describes in his epistle to Timothy. I have heard a dissenter confess that it was in the Bible Society he first learned that an arch-deacon might be a Christian; and I know that, in many places, a feeling has been thus excited in favour of the Church, which has given considerable alarm to the older and more rigid sectaries.

" Of the causes by which these blessed hopes have, as yet, been in some degree disappointed, and of the grounds which still induce myself and those who think with me, to adhere to the cause we have embarked in, I shall speak in another letter. What I have now written may suffice, I think, to prove to the more ingenuous of our adversaries, if not to Mr. Smedley himself, that it is not necessary to 'preach from a tub,' in order to be a member of the Bible Society; and that an institution which has been advocated by such divines as Bishops Porteus and Burgess, and such statesmen as Lord Grenville, Lord Liverpool, and Mr. Percival, may possibly be defended on other than fanatical or interested views. It is certain that a society, which reckons among its living supporters no fewer than *thirteen* bishops of the united Church of England and Ireland, and above *fifty* Christian bishops of other nations, besides all the Lutheran and Calvinist communities of Germany, Holland, and America, is not to be treated with scorn, however it may be assailed by argument. It is even possible that a principle of union which has produced such mighty effects, may involve in itself nothing hostile to sound reason or true religion,

though the Church of Rome (in perfect conformity with her avowed principles), and some learned and conscientious members of the Church of England (in apparent opposition to theirs), have as yet refused to accede to it.

" I remain, Sir, with my best wishes for the success of your work and its avowed objects,

" Your obedient humble servant,

" AN ARMINIAN."

*To the Editor of the Christian Remembrancer.*

" SIR,

" The courteous manner in which you have rejected the letter of 'An Arminian,' leaves its author, personally, no ground for complaint or dissatisfaction; and it is therefore as '*amicus curiae*,' and as really anxious for the success and extended utility of your publication, that I venture to remonstrate with you on the reception which I have met with, as an advocate for the honesty and consistency of the orthodox supporters of the Bible Society. You will observe, on looking back to my letter, that I had purposely confined my apology to these points alone; that I also had abstained, as far as the thing was possible, from any discussion of the general expediency, or the practical effects of the society itself; and that I was more concerned to show our *orthodoxy* than either our *wisdom* or *foresight*. And for such an explanation or apology as this, we might, I conceive, have anticipated no unfavourable reception from our brethren in the Church, inasmuch as we have among us several bishops, and other clergymen of unblemished characters, to whom it cannot be supposed agreeable, either to be confounded with a religious faction, whose principles they disclaim, or to be held out to the world as men who, having once embraced a line of conduct, adhere to it from obstinacy or a worse motive, after all the world besides has been convinced of its irreligious tendency.

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" If there are really dangers arising to the establishment both from within and without, those high Churchmen do not show their wisdom, or the sincerity of their allegiance, who reject the explanations of such of their brethren as, differing with them in one single point, are ready and desirous (which I know to be the case with many, who, like me, support the Bible Society,) to identify themselves with them in almost all other particulars, and join their best powers in the support of their common interest. And I did, therefore, suppose that I was serving both sides, when, by a candid statement of our principles, I had prepared the way for such a mutual understanding. I even hoped that by such an interchange of sentiments, through the medium of your work, many of the absurd and objectionable features of the Bible Society might have been, by degrees, done away with, or rendered less offensive ; and that, in the words of your own prospectus,—' what was of an ambiguous character might have been prevented from becoming mischievous, and converted into an engine of unquestionable general utility.'

" But if the discussion of the subject was thus desirable on general grounds, it became still more necessary on account of the attack made on us by ' an early subscriber' in your magazine for April. His complaints, it is true, are avowedly confined to a particular measure of the Cambridge local committee. But, to say nothing of his insinuation of something dark and hostile, which, in our general conduct, has been gradually developing itself to his view, you can hardly fail to observe that the *present state* of the Bible Society could only be fairly understood by a comparison with its *first* and *avowed* objects and principles ; and that, in fact, his objection went to the very root of our union, inasmuch as the distribution of the Scriptures by men of all sects indiscriminately, was the original and recognized purpose for which we gave our money. It was necessary then for the advocate of the society to enter into the general question at least thus far, before he could take off the edge of the particular charge which your correspondent made the ground of his secession. But you

have not even expressed a disposition to receive an explanation of the conduct of the Cambridge committee, supposing I had been inclined to narrow my defence within those limits. And I am, therefore, constrained to conclude that, while your pages are open to attacks on *us*, we must seek some other channel through which to justify ourselves from misapprehension or calumny.

"I do not know that this policy would be a wise one, even if you regarded us as positive enemies to the Church, and as leagued with fanatics for its subversion. Few methods can be named more likely to convert an enemy, than to invite him to a fair and friendly comparison of his principles with yours; and it is our conversion, I conclude, and not our excision, which is desired by our Christian opponents. But if, as I am rather induced to believe by the tenour of your answer to the letter of 'an Arminian,' you regard the dispute as one in which, unhappily for the Church, some of her most zealous members have taken opposite sides,—as a topic on which a fair and honest diversity of opinion is possible,—and as one where, in your editorial character, you wish, without concealing your private sentiments, to act as a conciliator of the contending parties, I may be permitted to observe, that there are two ways in which this may be done, and either of which, I have reason to believe, will satisfy the orthodox supporters of the Bible Society.

"The first is to invite or admit both parties to an '*amicam collationem*', rejecting, of course, or repressing in your capacity of moderator, all acrimonious language or unjust aspersion; confining the disputants to as narrow limits of rejoinder and explanation as you may think proper; and reserving to yourself not only the right of terminating the discussion, but of summing up the arguments. To a correspondence of this sort, I certainly conceived myself invited by the tone of your prospectus; and though I suspected the *bias* of my judge, I had so favourable an opinion of his competency and candour, that I should have been glad to submit my arguments to his decision. The other is to interdict, as far as possible, all mention of the disputed topic; and to endeavour to call off the attention of the combatants, from this minor and internal feud, to

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the common interests, the common duties, the common dangers of the Church to whom they both profess fidelity.

"The first of these, though certainly not without its difficulties, is that, I should conceive, which, if well managed, would most conduce to the popularity of your work, and would most tend to heal the disputes of Churchmen, by accustoming them to refer their grievances or their suggestions to a common and unexceptionable tribunal, instead of carrying them, as is now the case, to those particular miscellanies which most favour their preconceived opinions, and where they have, therefore, least chance of having those opinions rectified or moderated. On the second, I will only say that it will require, in future, the exclusion of such letters as that of 'an early subscriber.' You will, I trust, take these hints as they are intended, not as dictating, which I have no pretensions to do, the line which you are to follow; but as merely conveying the sentiments of one who is pleased both with the plan of your work and its execution; and who, as he anticipates much good to the Church from the establishment of a rallying point for her defenders, is desirous to extend the benefits of such a design to as many of these defenders as possible.

"I do not know what value you will set on my future contributions; and an arduous work in which I have been for some years engaged, leaves me far less time than I could wish for other literary recreations. But, should I be blest with more leisure than I have lately enjoyed, there are other topics, perhaps, more generally interesting than the Bible Society, and certainly on which our opinions are less likely to differ, on which you may possibly occasionally hear from

"AN ARMINIAN."

"As I do not know that there is any advantage in keeping on my mask behind the scenes, may I request you will send me back my former letter, if you have no further use for it, to 'The Rev. Reginald Heber.'"

*Hodnet Rectory, June 14, 1819.*



## CHAPTER XVII.

*Critique on Scott's "Force of Truth"—Mr. Reginald Heber undertakes to write a Life of Jeremy Taylor, and a critical essay on his writings—The Travellers' Club—Inscription to the Memory of the Honourable Frederic S. N. Douglas.*

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THE following critique on Scott's "Force of Truth," was written when its author was from home, and, consequently, when he had not access to books of reference. It was a very frequent practice among Mr. Reginald Heber's friends to request him not only to give his opinion on different passages of Scripture, and on controversial books, but to direct their theological studies. On one of these occasions when he was asked with what commentator on the Bible it was advisable to begin a course of religious reading, he answered "read the Bible attentively yourself without the assistance of any commentator; first form your own opinion, and then examine those of others."

*To Miss Dod.*

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"MY DEAR CHARLOTTE,

"Several years had elapsed since I last read Mr. Scott's 'Force of Truth'; and I am glad that my attention has again been called to it, because it is a work which one can hardly read without deriving advantage from the eminent piety and sincerity which pervade it, and the truth of many of the opinions enforced in it. God knows how earnestly I myself desire to be altogether such a one as Mr. Scott is, in strength of faith, purity of



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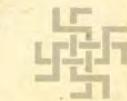
heart and life, and devotion of myself to God's will and service ; and it is because I regret that his example, and the truths which he recommends, should be encumbered by any irrelevant or erroneous opinions, that I am the more anxious to point out to you the parts in which I differ from him, and what appear to me the leading and pervading mistakes of his system. To the few points in controversy between us, I have now for many years paid considerable attention, though certainly I have never been so much interested in them, as in those on which the Calvinists and Arminians are agreed in regarding as 'the great power of God to salvation.'

" Excepting incidentally, I have never written or preached on them, because I regard it as the great misfortune of our times, that men have been squabbling and calling names about doctrines not essential, and differences which only exist in words, to the neglect of the real interests of the souls committed to their charge. But the course of my studies has often brought them under my attention ; my reading has been extensive among the elder divines of all sects and parties ; and though I will not deny that I have been always under some degree of prejudice against the peculiarities of Calvinism, I do not think I have read the works of its advocates with an uncandid or uncharitable spirit. So far I am, perhaps, as well qualified to judge of the question as Mr. Scott was. In one respect there has, indeed, been a difference in our system of enquiry, inasmuch as, though I have always prayed God for the aid of His spirit to guide me *generally* into all truth, and more *especially* into the knowledge of whatever truth was necessary or profitable to my salvation and the salvation of others, yet I have not ventured to ask or hope that the Holy Ghost would secure me from *all* error, or enable me to decide on topics so abstruse as those of free will, and the final perseverance of the elect. You will, therefore, take my notions on these and such-like points, as the opinion of one sufficiently weak and fallible ; and who, though he believes himself right in his conclusions, has looked for no other aid in forming them, than (what I really trust

I have received in answer to my worthless prayers) a teachable mind, and grace to use diligently the means of information offered to me.

"That Mr. Scott has expected more than this seems to me the lurking root of the errors into which he has fallen. He reasons throughout his work, particularly in the conclusion, to this effect : 'I have examined these doctrines carefully ; I have prayed diligently to God the Holy Ghost to show me the truth ; I believe He has heard my prayers ; and, therefore, I am sure that all which I have written is *true*.' He professes, indeed, (in p. 64 and 80) to make a distinction between doctrines absolutely necessary, and those which are peculiar to Calvinists. But, on the other hand, he tells us that the system of true Christianity is 'incomplete without them,' (p. 62.). He tells us (p. 71.) that he has been led to adopt a system (which in p. 72. he explains to be 'every doctrine of the despised system of Calvin,') '*under the guidance and teaching of the Holy Spirit*' ; and, therefore, it is plain that he has expected as a right, and as the promised return to his faithful prayers, not only the sanctifying and purifying graces of the Holy Ghost, not only grace to perceive the things which were absolutely necessary to his salvation—but power to determine between the opposite arguments of Calvin and Episcopius.

"Now this arises from a misconception of the promises made to prayer, and an inattention to what passes within and around us. It is, indeed, as certain as God is true, that whatever He has *authorised* us to ask of Him, He will grant to our faithful prayers through Jesus Christ. But when we ask for *more* than He has promised, we ask for what we have no right to expect ; we presume beyond His offered mercy ; and so far from being bound by His promise to hear our prayer, it is well for us if He does not send chastisement or blindness instead of the prosperity or knowledge for which we are over-anxious. But it is certain that God has only promised us necessary things ; and all the passages in Scripture which Mr. Scott quotes (p. 75. 77., &c.) are understood by all parties as referring to *necessary* things only. Thus, if a



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child asks bread of his father, a good parent will not give him a stone ; but if he asks for a fine coat, for a costly toy or an unnecessary (to him, perhaps, an unwholesome) dainty, his father will refuse his request, and possibly punish him for making it ; and if I should pray to be made a bishop or an expert mathematician, I should fall under the same censure. In like manner, in spiritual gifts, placed as we are in the lowest rank of spiritual beings, and sentenced for the present to ' see through a glass darkly,' it is plain that the promises of ' the Holy Spirit to those who ask Him,' of being ' guided into all truth,' and having ' by the same Spirit a right judgement in *all* things,' must be limited to such aids and particulars as may ensure our salvation through Jesus Christ ; and that we may as well ask for the wings of an angel, as freedom from error in whatever doctrinal point may chance to attract our attention. Were it otherwise, there could be no such thing as difference of opinion among those who are really God's children, while it is plain that such difference exists among men who are likely to have prayed for the help of the Holy Ghost as earnestly, (though with somewhat different expectations of the manner in which their prayers were to be heard) as Mr. Scott himself. Nor can we decide under how many or how great circumstances of error God may allow His children to remain, or how small a measure of light is sufficient, in His hands, to bring them to Him.

" Many of the leading doctrines of popery are, to all appearances, subversive of some of the plainest and most essential articles of the Christian faith ; yet I cannot read the lives of Bellarmine, Charles Borromeo, Vincent de St. Paul, Fenelon, and Pascal, without feeling that they were holy and humble men, incessant in prayer, and devoted to God and to their enquiries after truth ; or without a painful consciousness that, with all the clearer views of God's dispensations which I believe myself to possess, I should be happy beyond my hopes, and certainly beyond my deserts, to sit at the feet of the meanest among them in Heaven. Nor dare we, as I conceive, deny that men like these, however grievously

mistaken in some points, were under the guidance and teaching of that Spirit from whose inspiration only such virtues as theirs could proceed.

" Notwithstanding, therefore, Mr. Scott's prayers and sincerity, he may be in error of the most pernicious kind, though God in His mercy may, through mists and darkness, conduct him to Himself. And how much or how little of his views of religion is erroneous, must be proved by argument and the test of the Holy Scriptures, not by the sincerity of his conviction, the intensity of his devotion, or, what he himself lays so much stress on, the strength of those prejudices, those hopes and fears which he had to encounter in his progress to Calvinism.

" It is extraordinary, however, how little argument, or attempt at argument, there is in his work ; and what little there is, is bestowed exclusively on what he himself professes to be least essential; and by no means necessary to salvation—the doctrine, namely, of assurance and predestination. The rest is entirely taken up with a statement of the change which took place in his opinions, and which he conceives to be the work of God's Spirit. I will readily grant that the amendment of his life proceeded from this source ; and, as my own opinions coincide with his in many respects, I am, of course, inclined to rejoice that God enabled him to see what I esteem the truth. But what he has told us is quite irrelevant to its truth or falsehood.

" The arguments, however, together with some very incorrect and mistaken assertions (incorrect in point of fact) which occur in his work, I will consider presently. I now wish to observe, that the very strength and nature of those prejudices which he mentions as hostile to Calvinism, might incline him, when he had once overcome them, to go too great lengths on the opposite side. He was at first a concealed Socinian, then an Arian, both doctrines in manifest contradiction to the opinions of the Church of which he was a member, and whose articles he had solemnly signed, which must have been a continual source of misery and self-reproach to a mind like his. He would, therefore, naturally seek to quiet his



conscience during the continuance of this struggle, by listening to the suggestions of those who urge, (as all the Socinians do,) that three-fourths of the subscribing clergy were, in fact, as inconsistent as himself; that the articles were conceived in such a spirit of Calvinistic absurdity, that none but the methodists could sign them in their literal meaning, &c. And when he had once become alive to the necessity of sincerity on such a point, was it unnatural that he should still lie under the mistake of conceiving the articles to be exclusively Calvinistic, and labour, therefore, with more earnestness, not so much to find out whether Calvinism was false or true, as to *enable himself* to believe it? But, indeed, it is a trite observation in common life, that he who begins in one extreme, is more likely to go to the opposite, than to stop in the middle and moderate opinion. In politics we see it every day; and in religion it is no wonder if a vigorous mind, deeply impressed with the dangers from which it has escaped, should think itself never far enough from the burning city, and not be able to rest even in that Zoar to which God had promised safety. And this danger is then more likely to occur, when the natural temper of the person thus situated is warm and lively. I know that this is Mr. Scott's temper, as, indeed, he has himself in many places (as p. 73) given us to understand; and it is to this heat that I impute several of his misstatements.

" Thus (p. 7) he tells us, that ' the doctrines of the Church are diametrically opposed' to ' the Arminians ;' and in the note, that ' numbers of the Arminians hold the doctrine of justification by works' in part, at least, and verge, in some degree, to the Pelagian system. Now, when he made the first of these assertions, he must have known that five-sixths of the English clergy, many of them as holy men as himself, and as sincere in their subscription of the articles as any men could be, were *avowed* Arminians. He must have known that Hales of Eton, Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Bull, Bishop Burnet, Barrow, Tillotson, and, in later times, and of those whom he most admires, Wesley and Fletcher, had all signed these articles in the Arminian sense; and would it not have been, in a

man of a different character, impudence to assert, as he does, (not as his own opinion, but as a well-known and acknowledged fact,) that the sense of the articles was notoriously Calvinistic? The observation in the note is no less ill-founded and uncharitable. He there says, that 'numbers of Arminians hold justification by works and Pelagianism.' Now, on what ground does he thus accuse us? I am myself an Arminian from conviction. I am pretty well read in Arminian divines, and yet I do not know any Arminian writer worth quoting, from Episcopius to Bishop Pretyman, who does not expressly guard against both these errors. What would he say of me, if I were to assure the world, that 'numbers of the so-called Evangelical clergy believed good works to be unnecessary,' or that 'numbers of professed Calvinists held secretly the wild opinions of Messrs. S—— and B——?'

"Again, he tells us (page 11, note,) that the name of methodist is applied 'to all who preach or profess the doctrines of the reformation, as expressed in our articles and liturgy.' Here also he begs the question, first, as to what *were* the doctrines of the reformation, and, secondly, what are the doctrines of our articles and liturgy? I have studied the question with some care, and I certainly find no Calvinism in either of these. Our chief reformers were not Calvinists. Luther himself opposed Calvin strongly on the subject of free-will. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were none of them Calvinists. And so far are the homilies and liturgy from teaching the doctrines of absolute predestination and necessary perseverance of the elect, that all the early Calvinist teachers object to them for *not* containing them. As to the manner in which the term methodist is applied, I will only observe, that neither Mr. B—— nor Dr. T—— were ever called so.

"In page 29 he quarrels with those who represent 'the Gospel as a mitigated law, and as accepting sincere, though imperfect, obedience.' It is possible that these opinions may have been sometimes misused; but, in themselves, what fault can be found with them? Is not the Gospel a mitigated law, when Christ Himself has called 'His yoke easy, and His burthen light,' in comparison

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with the law of Moses? Is it not mitigated, inasmuch as it offers remission for all sin, while, by the law, presumptuous sin could expect none? Does it not require both sincerity and obedience from us, when Christ makes obedience the test of sincerity: 'Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?' and when we know that our best obedience must be most imperfect? Surely this observation is founded on mere captiousness!

"In the same page, what he says respecting 'water baptism,' is founded in misapprehension. Nobody, I apprehend, ever supposed, that 'being born of the Spirit' was the same thing with water baptism. What we maintain is, that it is a spiritual grace, quite distinct from the outward sign, but given by God, according to His promise, to those who receive that sign. We believe, that in baptism a mighty work is wrought on the soul by the Holy Ghost; that the person thus devoted to God is placed in a state of adoption and salvation; and that a seed of life is then sown, which the subsequent favour of the Holy Ghost (as displayed in His various ordinary and providential visitations, both internal and external,) like the genial influence of the sun, invigorates, renews, and calls into action. Without this belief, baptism would be an idle pageantry.

"From page 13 to page 56, little occurs which can call for remark from me. I cordially agree to the doctrine maintained there, of salvation by Christ through faith alone; but I conceive that no man was ever called a methodist for preaching this, unless there was some other peculiarity in his manner of doing so, or unless he was negligent in guarding against the abuses which the Antinomians have endeavoured to ground on this most important and blessed truth. I have at present no books to consult, but I am strongly impressed with the opinion, that (p. 39) he has misunderstood Hooker in his sermon of the certainty and perpetuity of faith in the elect. I have read that sermon frequently and lately, but found no Calvinism there, though some of his detached expressions may at first be thought to favour it. On the other hand, we know that Hooker was engaged in controversy with Travers, on the very

point of absolute predestination, with which perseverance is inseparably connected.

" What Mr. Scott observes, concerning the duty of contentedness under persecution and slander is very true and touching ; but he might also have laid some stress on the necessity of avoiding all unnecessary cause of offence to weak or worldly minds. Where this caution is duly observed, we know that though every Christian should be prepared to meet obloquy in the cause of his Master, since it is a visitation which happens to many, and may happen to all, yet it is not universally or necessarily brought on us by the strictest piety.

" In page 57, it is said that persons brought into a state of repentance *need* the doctrine of election 'as a security that they should not fall back into their former course of sin.' If the doctrine be false this argument is good for nothing, since a false ground of security is of all things the most mischievous. But why do people need such an assurance of their perfect and indestructible security ? Why, unless that they may relax that constant vigilance over themselves which I grant is painful, but which our Lord Himself enjoins when He bids us 'watch !' Surely no better ground of hope can be desired by even the most humble Christian than the knowledge that Christ loves him and has died for him, and that He will never withdraw His gracious protection from him, unless he himself wilfully and repeatedly flings it away ! Nothing we know can separate us from Christ's love so long as we ourselves continue to love Him ; and who that has truly loved ever apprehended that his affections were likely to alter ? The fall of a sincere believer is possible ; and therefore always to be guarded against, but it is not probable, and this improbability goes on increasing as life passes away, and the hour of our reward draws nearer, till at length we may, doubtless, cry out with St. Paul, " Henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteousness !" But perfect security rather diminishes than increases the blessedness of hope ; when the vessel is in harbour the interest of the voyage is at an end ; and St. Paul must have felt less keenly his aspirations



after his Heavenly home, if he had not, as he himself says he had, these hopes contrasted with the possibility of becoming 'a cast-away.'

" But Mr. Scott forgets that there is a reverse to the doctrine of election, which, far from being a source of comfort, is full of horror. It is all very well for a person with good animal spirits, with a good opinion of himself, and inclined to look on the bright side of things, to fancy that God has, from all eternity, predestined his salvation, and that, under these circumstances, he cannot finally fall. But how can he be sure that he is really one of the favoured elect? And what are his expectations if this should not be the case? He knows that instances are on record of those who, having begun to all appearance well, and tasted the spiritual blessings of Christianity, have yet at length fallen away. And how can he be sure that his own present feelings of faith and love may not be like those which moved Herod 'to do many things,' nay, that this short and seeming favour of Heaven may not be sent to make his fall more dreadful, and increase his final damnation? While we know the effects which the doctrines of predestination produced on such a mind as that of Cowper, it is surely very dangerous to employ it as a source of comfort to weak believers.

" I know that there are modern Calvinists who, with amiable inconsistency, profess to hold the doctrine of election without that of reprobation. But it is strange that any man can be so blind as not to perceive that the one involves the other. The doctrine of election, as generally stated, and as held by all Calvinists, is, that *all* who are saved are saved by an *effectual* call from God which raises them from the lost condition in which they are by nature; a call which, as it proceeds from His absolute purpose that they should be saved, they have no power to resist, seeing that He inclines their will to obey at the same moment that He makes Himself known unto them. But if *none* are saved who have not this call, *all* are damned who have it not; and since men are damned for their *sins*, and since those who are not called, cannot *help sinning*, seeing it is the nature which cleaves to them, and

which they can no more get rid of than they can creep out of their bodies,—it follows that men are damned, that is, punished everlastingly by a merciful God, for actions which they could not help committing!

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" If, indeed, we held with Baxter that only a few chosen vessels, such as St. Paul, are effectually, that is, irresistibly, called to eternal life, while all the rest of mankind have grace offered to them which they may either improve or reject, we get rid of these difficulties. But it is plain that this is something very different from Calvinism ; and moreover, that, though it might have been a source of confidence to such a one as St. Paul, yet in the case of ordinary Christians, more especially timorous ones, it leaves the question just where it found it, and differs in no respect from Arminianism. It is, however, a very harmless opinion, and one to which I have no objection, except that I conceive it contrary to Scripture.

" For, surely, if any men were ever effectually called to salvation, they must have been those whom Christ himself selected from the world, and to all of whom, without exception, He promises that they should sit with Him ' on twelve thrones ' in His kingdom. No one will dare to say that Christ could have made such a promise to any person who was, at that time, in a state of reprobation. Yet one of these afterwards betrayed his Master and hanged himself! But where is the necessary perseverance of the elect, if an apostle thus fell from grace received ? Oh, when we read these things, it becomes us ' not to be high-minded, but to fear,' not to flatter ourselves with hopes that our salvation is absolutely secured to us, but diligently to improve the grace given lest it should hereafter be taken away, and to seek ' in this our day the things that belong to our peace,' lest they should ' be hidden from our eyes !'

" Mr. Scott (page 59) defends the justice of that conduct which the Calvinists impute to God, in an argument (the only argument in his work) to the following effect. ' The doctrine of personal election to eternal life lies open to no objection which

may not be urged against God's placing one nation in a more favourable condition than another as to religious advantages.' I answer, the case sare widely different. A Christian nation, or an individual to whom Christianity is made known, is certainly blessed with far greater means of grace, far more powerful motives to holiness, and with spiritual aid and comfort far greater than the heathen. But though the heathen has fewer and less advantages, I do not believe him to be altogether left destitute. He may 'know that God is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him,' and knowing this, which, for all that appears to the contrary, was as much as Enoch knew, he may, like Enoch, draw near to God, and please Him and obtain a seat in one of those many mansions which our Father's house contains, though not in so high a place of glory as he might have obtained had Christ been preached to him.

"I have discussed this point at some length in my sixth Bampton Lecture, where I think I have proved that they have the assistance of the Holy Ghost in the same kind, though not in the same measure with ourselves. But at all events, they will be judged according to what they *have*, not according to what they have *not* received ; and in their blindest state they are on the same footing with infants, idiots, and madmen, whom Mr. Scott will hardly deny to be within the limits of Christ's atonement, and to be the objects of *His* care whom they know not, and on whom they, therefore, cannot believe. But the condition of the majority of mankind, according to the system of Calvin, is that of many millions of creatures brought into the world *in order* that they may sin and die and suffer everlasting, without any power, either of their own, or given them from above, to avoid the wrath to come ; punished in hell-fire for actions which it was the misfortune of their nature not to be able to avoid. Nor is this all ; for if the system be true, the coming of Christ was, to these unfortunate beings, the most refined and dreadful act of cruelty which could have been inflicted. I prove it thus. All Christians agree, that they to whom Christ was preached, and who did not believe in Him, incurred by this

hardness of heart a great additional guilt, and will be punished more severely in Hell than they otherwise would have been. But no person could believe without God's grace assisting and disposing him to do it. The Arminian says, that this grace is given to every man to profit withal, and that they who neglect or resist it, perish by their own fault.

"But what says the Calvinist,—this grace is only given to God's elect. God's elect were but a small proportion of those to whom Christ was preached. Therefore the greater number had no power to believe whatever.

"In other words, God sent His Son into the world with offers of mercy and salvation to all men, on certain conditions, which were morally impossible for most men to fulfill. And not only did He thus mock them with pretended mercy, but He actually made their not availing themselves of that mercy, a pretext for punishing them more severely! God forgive those who hold doctrines which lead to a conclusion so horrible! But, turn it as they please, I defy the Calvinists to find a flaw in the chain of inferences. 'Unmerited favour to one person,' says Mr. Scott, 'is no injustice to others.' Certainly not; provided it is not imputed as a crime to these last that they have not been equally fortunate. But if, of two naked children, I give a shirt to the one, and beat the other for not having received what I never gave him, I should be a strange sort of parent. Again, Mr. Scott observes, that the existence of wickedness and misery at all 'equally embarrasses every system of Christianity and even Deism,' (p. 60.) Now, in the first place, though the Arminian system may not get rid of all difficulties, yet it certainly lessens them; and though many things must always surpass our comprehension in the scheme of Providence, that is no reason why we should rest contented under such an appalling creed as that of Calvin. But, secondly, there is a great difference between the *permission* of evil, and the *perpetrating* it. God *may* have seen fit to permit men to corrupt their way upon earth; but, as God is true, He never would pretend a concern for the souls of *all* men, and desire that *all* should be saved, while He never gave



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to the greater part of men a single chance for salvation ; and, as God is just, He will not punish men eternally for not doing that which He, their Maker, and professing to be their Redeemer, never gave them the power to do.

" As to Mr. Scott's observation, that ' if any man be fully persuaded that God has decreed his eternal happiness, he would find his aversion to the doctrine much abated,' it merely amounts to this ; that those who have a good opinion of themselves, and believe themselves God's peculiar favourites, care very little for God's honour and justice, or for the prospects of their fellow creatures ! I can only say, God keep me and those whom I love from such a temper ! Mr. Scott, I hope, has a very different one.

" Do not, however, mistake me, or think that I mean to reflect on the personal character and personal holiness of those who hold the doctrine of election ; I am acquainted with some ; I know the works of many ; and I believe them to be men as holy, as humble, and as charitable as men, in our present state, can hope to be. And, while I wonder at their blindness in not perceiving those consequences of their system which I have now laid before you, while I am persuaded that the natural result of Calvinism must be to sink some men into utter despair and carelessness of living, and to raise others into the most dangerous self-confidence and spiritual pride, I am the more inclined to bless God for the riches of His grace, which has kept the good men from those snares which their opinions laid for them, and forbidden them to trust their salvation to doctrines which they do not act upon, though they fancy that they believe them. Nor should I have spoken thus harshly of the doctrines themselves, if it were not fit that every system should be tried by the fruits, that is, by the consequences which flow from it.

" Still, however, it is said (p. 61,) that these doctrines are, absolutely, taught in the Scriptures. I can only say, that though I have sought diligently, I have never been able to find them there. And if I should, as I hope I may, have an opportunity of looking over with you the different texts which are generally sup-

posed to favour them, I have little doubt of being able to convince you, that the 'election' there spoken of is not immediately to eternal life, but to the spiritual advantages and blessedness which a knowledge of Christianity confers in the present life, whereby our progress to glory is greatly forwarded, though not rendered inevitable ; and that the hope of their own perseverance expressed by the Apostles, is of a far more qualified cast than that which is now regarded by some as a necessary mark of adoption. On the other hand, I find in every page of the Sacred Volume, the most positive declarations that God's mercy is over *all* His works ; that He 'desireth not the death of a sinner ;' that He calls to all men, ' Why will ye die ?' that there was a time when even Judas had a Heavenly throne promised him ; and when they who crucified Christ might have ' known the things which belonged unto their peace ;' that Christ died for the *sins of all men*, and to the intent that ' all might *through Him* be saved.' And though so good a man as Mr. Scott, nay, though an angel from Heaven should preach to me a doctrine which, either directly or by its inevitable consequences, contradicts these declarations, I am justified in saying, he shall not be my teacher.

" And how can Mr. Scott fancy that the system of salvation, through Christ, is incomplete without this monstrous excrescence ? We Arminians believe, as firmly as he can do, that man is, by nature, in a fallen state ; the slave of evil passions ; a prey to every temptation which assails him ; and altogether unable to please God or merit Heaven. We believe that Christ died as a true sacrifice for the sins of all the world, and that the only means whereby we, to whom Christ is preached, obtain this salvation, is by faith in His merits and sufferings. We believe that the grace of the Holy Ghost is freely given for Christ's sake, to all who hear this Gospel, whereby they are enabled, if they will, to turn to Him and be saved ; and we believe that it is by this grace only,—for a more abundant measure of which we are taught to pray and use our diligence,—that we are enabled to bring forth the fruit of good works, to be grateful to God in our hearts, and in our lives to

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show this gratitude. It is on His righteousness we depend ; it is from His grace that we derive every thing ; but we believe that we may, by our neglect or misconduct, forfeit these privileges, and cause this Divine help to be withdrawn from us ; and we are, therefore, the more watchful over ourselves, and the more earnest in begging a continuance of those bounties of which we have not a *grant for life*, but which may cease at any moment. And this is, we conceive, all which Scripture has taught us on the subject, and and we are sure that this is enough for holiness in this life, and for our hope of a better life hereafter.

" I have undertaken only to review Mr. Scott, not to write a formal refutation of Calvinism. If you wish to enquire into the subject more at large, you will find, I think, convincing arguments in the works of the Bishop of Lincoln. There are also some very good things in the works of Mr. Flechier, a Shropshire clergyman, who was an ally of John Wesley, and in an answer to Mr. Scott, which has lately appeared, by a methodist preacher at Shrewsbury, named Brocas. I mention these two last to show, that they are not only high Churchmen who think as I do on these subjects. Indeed I am far from approving of the tone in which many high Churchmen have discussed them ; nor can I endure that intolerant spirit which would deny the name of Churchman to the Calvinistic clergy, who, generally speaking, I have no doubt are as sincere as we can be in their subscription to our articles, and the allegiance which they profess to our ecclesiastical governors. On the contrary, it is one of my greatest quarrels with the doctrines in question, that they have introduced strife and bitterness between those whom every circumstance of unity of faith, unity of interest, and similarity of piety and sincerity, would otherwise have led to love and esteem each other. And really when we see such men on the one side as Dr. T——— and Mr. B———, whose lives have been a continued display of Christianity in its purest form ; as ———, who gives up his whole time, and, literally, the greater part of his fortune, to the promotion of God's service ; as the Bishop of Chester, whose zeal, earnestness, and great humility I have lately had

occasion to notice ; and as my friend Pearson, of Chester, whose whole heart and studies are engrossed with his profession, and whose anxiety at this moment, though with the fairest prospects at home, is to be enabled to get into some corner of the world, where he may preach to the heathen : when, on the other side, I see my excellent friend ——, Mr. W——, Mr. G——, and the Bishop of ——, can we refrain from feeling a deep regret, that a misconception of each other's religious principles, (for, in truth, the greater part of those whom I have last named are not Calvinists,) should lead these men to distrust and avoid each other ? that the one party should be held up as hostile to the progress of religion, and the other as fanatics and sectaries ? To reconcile or soften these unhappy differences, so far as my age and situation have given me opportunities, has been through life the object constantly in my view, and the cause of several earnest and fruitless labours. Nor can I close this long letter without offering to your notice a few hints as to the conduct which, while such dissensions exist, it becomes, in my opinion, a lover of peace to pursue. (The remainder of Mr. Scott's pamphlet contains little to which my former criticisms will not apply).

" 1st. I would wish every one to keep in mind the extreme insignificance of most of those points which are made the bones of contention. Calvinism, which makes most noise, and is used as the general watch-word, even the Evangelical party, as they are called, are by no means agreed upon ; and the occasions are so few, even in the case of a clergyman, when it comes in question, that a man might go through a long and useful life, without being called on to confess or abjure it. But the usual sources of dispute and difference are in things too trifling to be reasoned on, on the legality of cards, or public amusements, or whether it be allowable to have a hot dinner on a Sunday, &c. &c. Now my own opinion on these points is, that they are no where forbidden ; that, duly moderated, they are perfectly harmless, and that it is a return to the severity of the Mosaic law to teach the contrary. But on points like these, in God's name, let every man enjoy his own opinion !



' Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not, neither let him that eateth not judge him that eateth.' The appellations of irreligious person or fanatic, are far too serious to be bandied about for reasons like these ; and it is better to shun such discussions, than to run the risk of unsettling the mind of our friend by unnecessary scruples, or irritating him by ridicule or uncharitable reflections.

" 2dly. To those who are possessed of the power to give largely, I would recommend the subscribing to such charitable or religious societies as they think best, without regard to party feelings. For instance, I would make a point of subscribing *both* to the Bible Society and to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. But where only one subscription can be afforded, I would prefer the latter, both from the double application of its funds, and because it is a sort of badge of our attachment to the Church of England. Observe, however, that by supporting the Bible Society, I do not mean supporting, either by money or influence, any of those offensive follies which have been engrafted on the original excellent institution, under the name of *Ladies' Bible Societies*. These I have always opposed, and always will do so, from being persuaded that they have done infinite harm to our good cause in the minds of the clergy ; and that the principles on which they are conducted are completely at variance with the delicacy and retirement which become females.

" 3dly. Though perfect charity should be observed towards dissenters, and though we should be ready to co-operate with them in any good work, by which the peculiarities of our Creed or Church discipline are not compromised, this amiable principle should not lead us to support their missions, or attend their places of worship. The first is doing that by an irregular method, for which, in our Church missions, a regular way is open ; the second I cannot consider in any other light than schismatical, and therefore sinful. This point you will see treated of in my ordination sermon.

" 4thly. Avoid needless singularity of all kinds. The clergy-

man who dresses in a shovel-hat, at an age when most of his profession wear a round one ; the high Churchman who snuffles in a pompous tone through his nose ; and the Evangelical minister who preaches extempore, or affects a particular manner of administering the Sacrament,—all lose more than they gain, by shocking the prejudices of the weak, or attracting the ridicule of the worldly. The same may be said of the girl who covers up her throat and arms ; of the gentleman who affects unusual plainness of apparel. In exterior, the Christian should not be distinguishable from the rest of the world ; and as Christ could not mean His disciples to be more gaily decorated than usual when they fasted, so, when He ordered them on those occasions to anoint the head, He may seem not only to authorize, but to enjoin, on all other occasions, a decent and moderate use of such decorations as are usual in our country and station.

" 5thly. Be not afraid to give a reason for the faith that is in you, when the occasion really calls for it ; but avoid disputation ; and beware of laying too great stress on things doubtful, or not essential to salvation. Beware how, by introducing such topics, you unsettle the minds of your friends, and perhaps bring into hazard essential articles, or (what is most essential of all) charity.

" 6thly. Give your conscience into the keeping of no man or set of men, but do what you think right before God without caring whether or no it is usually done by the religious party with whom you are most connected. If this were universally observed, avoiding all perverseness or needless singularity, the spirit of party would soon disappear.

" 7thly. Do not court the notice of the world. There are many more ways in which this notice is sought for than men at first suppose ; and one very common way is courting persecution, by adopting language which we know to be the mere slang of a party, or practices, which we know to be offensive to, or suspected by, the generality of mankind. It is the proud man who is never content to be forgotten ; and, begging Mr. Scott's pardon, something of this sort seems visible in many parts of his conduct.

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He clung, as he himself tells us, to the applause of his superiors for a long time ; but, on differing from them, he took care to proclaim the difference aloud ; and since he could not have their praise, he endeavoured to get the praise of those who were opposed to them. The world, after all, is generally too much occupied with its own concerns to pay any attention to those who do not take some pains to draw its notice to themselves, their merits, or their sacrifices ; and many a man talks of the obloquy which assails him, and boasts of bearing his cross, whose name is hardly known to those whom he believes to be wholly occupied by his concerns. If we do our duty quietly, we shall be seldom slandered or persecuted ; but if we court persecution we shall often be led to outstep our duty. By observing such rules as these, a man, indeed, will get little or no praise or renown ; and I do not say that he will be in all cases able to shun the censure of one or both of the opposite parties. But though the hot-headed, on either side, will dislike and suspect, or despise him, he may rest satisfied that he does not merit their ill opinions, and that, with the moderate and judicious, the very contrariety of their slanders will refute them both, while he will feel that to be judged by man's judgement is a very slight thing to him who is daily drawing nearer to that time when the voice of slander shall be heard no more, and the quiet sleep of the grave be awakened by the sound of ' well done, thou good and faithful servant ! '

" I promised you a letter on the subject of Mr. Scott's book, and I find I have written a volume. You will excuse its many faults of style, since I have really no time to correct it, or to make out a fair copy. My meaning, I hope, is tolerably plain ; and if there are any particulars on which you wish for further information, I will supply it to the best of my power. There are few, indeed, of your sex and age, to whom I could have ventured to send so long a treatise on topics so repulsive. But you, I know, are really anxious in your search after truth, and the subject having been thrown in your way, it is fit you should know that Mr. Scott is not unanswerable.



" Do not, however, expect too much certainty on topics which have exercised the sagacity of men for many ages, without any agreement being produced among them ; but if you still find perplexities beyond your power, dismiss them from your mind as things which cannot concern you. ' Secret things belong to the Lord our God ;' but on the necessity of an atonement, on justification by faith, and on the obligation which lies on us to work out, with fear and trembling, the salvation thus begun in us, no real difficulties exist, and by these, on every system, our entrance to heaven is to be secured.

" That you, my dear Charlotte, may through life ' believe and know the things you ought to do, and have grace and power faithfully to fulfill the same,' is the earnest prayer of

" Your sincere and affectionate friend,

" REGINALD HEBER."

*To — — —*

*Hodnet Rectory, Nov. 22, 1819.*

" MY DEAR — — ,

" I have for some time back felt anxious to write to you, but I was afraid of intruding too soon on the sacredness of a grief so deep and justifiable as yours. The excellent feeling and good sense displayed in your letter to Emily, encourage me to do so now, in the hope that these lines may catch you before you leave England. Very different, indeed, are your present circumstances, from those under which I last addressed you ; but different as they are, both dispensations proceed from the same good and wise Parent, whose mercy is as certainly, though, to us, not so visibly displayed in his chastisements as in his blessings. You yourself, and your poor — — were, I doubt not, as dear to Him, and as much the objects of His care, when He visited your house with suffering and death, as when He united your hearts by mutual affection, and your hands by a union which promised a long continuance of earthly happiness. It is, indeed, impossible for us to conjecture what merciful ends the Almighty has designed to bring

to pass, by this sudden and bitter termination of those delightful prospects; but from knowing whose hand has smitten you, you may, even in your ignorance of His motives, rely on His fatherly love, and trust that the time will come when such mysteries of Providence may be made plain, and when you may be enabled to perceive in what manner it has been good for you *both*, that you have been afflicted. Nor let it be forgotten that, however long, and however happily you might have lived together, this grievous separation must, at last, have come:—you must sooner or later have mourned for him or he for you; and the years of your conjugal happiness, how numerous soever, must one day have seemed no more than a tale that is told. All then that a different dispensation of Providence would have done for you, would have been either that your husband, not you, must have had the misery of surviving, (a grief which you know too well to wish transferred to him) or that the same grief which you now feel, would have overtaken you when you were less able to bear it,—when many of those who knew and loved him most, and in whose society you now feel your best comfort, had themselves dropped into the grave,—when your own health and spirits had been weakened,—and your habits of dependance on him had been still more formed, and to be unlearned with greater difficulty. If you are now solitary, you might then have been still more so; if you now sink under the blow, it might then have fallen upon you still more heavily. It is, indeed, possible that your separation from him may endure some years longer than if it had taken place later in life;—but what are a few years in a union, which, when renewed, is to last for ever? For I am convinced that Paley is right in his 34th sermon, where he lays down, on Scriptural grounds, the doctrine, that those who loved on earth are to recognise each other in Paradise;—that, as David felt on a similar occasion, you will go to him though he cannot come to you; and that every moment passed in patience and submission to the Divine will, brings you nearer to him. You remember the beautiful lines in Southey,—

Love is indestructible ;  
Its holy flame for ever burneth,  
From Heaven it came, to Heaven returneth ;



Too oft on earth a troubled guest,  
 At times deceiv'd, at times opprest,  
 It here is tried and purified,  
 Then hath in Heaven its perfect rest :  
 It soweth here with toil and care,  
 But the harvest time of love is there !

" After all, however, there is, I believe, no support so certain, no relief so immediate in distress, as that which is derived from prayer. I dare not counsel you, (for it is a point on which I am extremely doubtful, and for which I confess I see no sufficient authority in Scripture) I dare not counsel you to *pray for the dead*. This is, indeed, a practice sanctioned by the immemorial custom of the Jews, by that of the primitive Christians of at least the third century, and of many good men among the Protestants of later times ; not on any notion of the pains of purgatory, but as believing that, till the day of judgement, there might be still a possibility of the prayers of the living being of advantage to those whom they had lost. It is true that such prayers could not be offered with the same confidence of faith, which we are authorized to feel when we are soliciting promised blessings ; but I cannot think there is any crime in thus following that instinct of our nature, which leads us to clothe our wishes in the shape of *prayers*, and to ask of God in behalf of those we love, that He would give them what is best for their present condition ; on this point, however, you may follow your own persuasion—your own feelings ; but however this may be, you are, *at least*, allowed and encouraged to pray to God for support, for consolation and grace ; and prayers of this sort, we may be sure are never addressed to God in vain. Heaviness may endure for a night, but, if we will but endure it, the darkness of this world must soon pass away, and a morning of interminable joy must follow it. That you, my dear —, may on earth receive comfort, and in Heaven your reward with him who has departed from you for a time, is the earnest hope of

" Your affectionate —,

" REGINALD HEBER."

CHAP.  
XVII.  
1819.

*To the Hon. and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.*

*Hodnet Rectory, Nov. 23, 1819.*

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ I have lately received an application from Ogle and Duncan, the booksellers, on the subject of an edition which they are meditating of the complete and collected works of Jeremy Taylor, most of which are now become very scarce, and all only to be obtained in separate volumes of all sizes and descriptions. They design to comprise their edition in fourteen or fifteen handsome octavo volumes, and hope to obtain permission to print several unpublished sermons of Taylor's, which are said to be in the library of Lincoln Cathedral. I have undertaken, at their request, to furnish a life and critical essay on his writings; and they have also desired me to convey two petitions on their behalf to your Lordship, and the Society of All Souls; first, that your Lordship, as warden of Taylor's College, will permit them to dedicate to you the first complete edition of his works which has been attempted; and secondly, that they may be permitted to procure an engraving of the portrait of Bishop Taylor which Talbot has obtained for our hall.

“ From all which I have been able to learn of the character of the persons who make the proposals, I am inclined to think very favourably of their spirit and enterprise, and to hope that the works of our great ornament will issue from their press in a form not unworthy of him, or of your Lordship, should you permit them to prefix your name to their edition. I have written to the Sub-dean of Lincoln, Mr. Bayley, on the subject of the unpublished sermons; and mean to apply to Talbot for any information which he may be able to obtain for me, from Taylor's descendants in Ireland.

“ Believe me, my dear Lord,

“ Your obliged and obedient humble servant,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”



*To R. W. Hay, Esq.*

*Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 27, 1819.*

" Will you have the goodness to transmit the enclosed note of thanks to the Travellers' club, of whose kindness I am very sensible, and only regret that I am likely to be so seldom able to avail myself of it<sup>1</sup>. As I suspect that it is to yourself that I am in a great measure indebted for the distinction conferred on me, pray accept at the same time my best thanks. Most heartily do I wish I had more frequent opportunities of cultivating your society, and that of the friends who only make me envy those who spend a part of every year in London. The scarcity of intellect, at least of a particular kind of intellect; the want of a vent for one's reading, and, consequently, the want of a stimulus to incline one to read, I cannot help often feeling,—though I am, I believe, more favourably situated in these respects than most men who live so much in the country as I do. My habits, indeed, during the latter part of the present year, have been less intellectual than usual, as I have had, from the long illness of my poor wife, and a consequent stay of some months by the sea-side, both less time, and, to say the truth, less inclination for any serious work than I generally have.

" We are all quiet and good subjects in these counties, so that but for newspapers, and the new volunteer corps which are raising round us, we should know nothing of the progress of sedition. Something of the sort was, indeed, heard a little while since in our village ale-house, from a body of the Chelsea pensioners on their way to the depot at Shrewsbury. They expressed, I am sorry to say, great displeasure at being called out, and a very decided adhesion to radical principles. As many of them have been rambling ever since their discharge, up and down the disturbed districts,

<sup>1</sup> By the rules of this club, as originally established, the committee were at liberty to invite, as honorary members, a limited number of persons distinguished as travellers, and whose usual residence was remote from London. Mr. Reginald Heber and three others are the only English individuals in whose favour this privilege has hitherto been exercised.—ED.



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this is not, perhaps, very wonderful ; but it is not the less unfortunate that it has been necessary to introduce men infected with such a feeling into the body of our defenders. It is not, however, in the army alone that such a leaven has been attempted to be infused. A friend of mine, on a visit to one of the officers of Admiral Blackwood's ship, happened to find two men who had, a few days before, been admitted as able seamen, haranguing from a stool, and distributing hand-bills recommending universal suffrage. They were, I believe, punished, and have since deserted, so they will, perhaps, next try the army. If they had not been detected, they would have had time for a good long course of lectures during a voyage to India.

"I am very anxious to hear how Wilmot speaks in the house ; he appears to rate himself very modestly, but I am inclined to hope he will eventually do extremely well."

"Poor M—— has found the Solicitor-general even a severer critic than the Quarterly."

In the Obituary for 1819, the following monumental inscription appeared, which was written by Mr. Reginald Heber :

To the Memory  
of the  
HONOURABLE FREDERIC SYLVESTER NORTH DOUGLAS,  
only son of  
Sylvester Baron Glenbervie  
and of  
Katherine Anne, daughter of Frederic Baron North, Knight of the Garter,  
First Lord of the Treasury, and afterwards Earl of Guilford,  
in whom  
a short but useful and brilliant career  
was eminently adorned  
by splendid talents and amiable manners,  
by mental accomplishments,  
by scientific attainments,  
and by the highest polish of elegant literature ;



was honourably distinguished  
 by the able, upright, and assiduous discharge  
 of parliamentary duties,  
 by an active, zealous, and enlightened philanthropy,  
 and by the exercise of many public and private virtues;  
 and was suddenly and awfully terminated,  
 to the inexpressible grief  
 of his surviving relatives, and of the inhabitants  
 of the town which he represented,  
 among every description of whom  
 he had conciliated  
 the most grateful and affectionate respect  
 by his earnest and unremitting solicitude  
 to promote the diffusion of Christian knowledge and piety,  
 to improve the condition and increase the comforts of the poor,  
 and to advance the general interests of the neighbourhood.

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He was born Feb. 8, 1791, was elected member of parliament for the borough of Banbury, November, 1812, and again elected for the same place in the following parliament; was married July 19, 1819, to Harriet, eldest daughter of William Wrightson, of Cusworth, in the county of York, Esquire, and died the 21st day of the October following.

END OF VOLUME I.

GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,  
 ST. JOHN'S SQUARE, LONDON.



## A P P E N D I X.

VOL. I.

4 C



## A P P E N D I X.

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### HISTORY OF THE COSSAKS.

THE following history, on which Mr. Reginald Heber was for a considerable time engaged, though circumstances prevented its completion, is inserted as an appendix to the present volume, its subject being incidentally connected with his tour in the Crimea, and allusions to it being also frequently made in the preceding pages. The memoir and correspondence will be renewed in the second volume.

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APPEN-  
DIX.

I.—THE spacious regions which form the southern portion of the Russian empire, and which the ancients comprised under the general names of European and Asiatic Scythia, exhibit, in an extent of many thousand square leagues, so few varieties either of soil or landscape, that he who has traversed even a small part of this vast green wilderness, may form no inaccurate notion of the whole. The traveller who approaches from the north already perceives, in the neighbourhood of Charkof and Pultava, that the number and amplitude of the Muscovite forests have dwindled into a few scanty groves and coppices; and when he has passed the Donetz at Izium, and crossed a lofty range of calcareous downs, (which, if the Riphæan mountains were not altogether fabulous, must be supposed to have received that title from the vanity of their ancient inhabitants<sup>1</sup>,) the

<sup>1</sup> “Riphæan mountains.” The only hills worth notice between Moscow and the Crimea are those which form the northern boundary of the steppe of Tartary. They are, indeed,



prospect is gradually changed into a bleak, though not sterile uniformity, unshaded by trees, and unbroken by the plough, and affording in its higher grounds and central solitudes, a very scanty supply to its wandering occupants, of brackish and unwholesome water. The resemblance of the Tanais to the Nile has been remarked by many writers; but that these ample downs, whither its fertilizing waters cannot extend, have not since degenerated into a desert like those of the Thebais, must be ascribed to the difference of latitude, and the beneficial effects of a four-months' continued snow.

II.—This rigour of climate is so greatly at variance with those interested reports which, in the hope of attracting settlers to her new dominions, were circulated by the Empress Catherine; and it differs so widely from that temperature which might be supposed to exist in the latitude of 46, in the same parallel with Lyons and Geneva; that, though the ancients observed and recorded it, the fact has been very slowly admitted by the generality of modern enquirers. Even among those who yielded a respectful attention to the authority of poets and historians, many have been anxious to suppose that the peculiarity they describe had long since ceased to exist; and they have deduced from this supposed difference between the ancient and modern climate of Scythia, a proof that, by the destruction of forests, the draining of marshes, and the triumphant progress of agriculture, the temperature, not only of certain districts, but of the earth itself has been improved<sup>1</sup>. But how far all or any of these changes may be able to produce effects so extensive, as it may reasonably admit of doubt, so it is in the present instance superfluous to enquire; since, in Scythia, these causes have never operated, and no apparent melioration of the climate has taken

very unworthy of the name of mountain, and by no means answer to the description by Eustathius in his Notes on Dionysius. (p. 45.) ὅτε εν τοις Ῥιφαιοῖς οφεσιν οὐδεποτε χιων επιλειπει. There are, however, no other hills in the direction mentioned by Ptolemy; nor can I agree with Mr. Pinkerton, who, with his usual hardihood, assures us that “the ancients often confounded mountains and forests under the same denomination.” (Geography, vol. i.) In what language the same word serves for two such different things, he will, perhaps, in another edition, have the goodness to inform us. Forests are, indeed, in Scythia, little more abundant than mountains; and it would be necessary to advance a considerable way towards Moscow before he would meet with any very extensive one. Of the Riphæan mountains, however, Herodotus makes no mention; and Strabo (lib. vii.) treats as fabulous, if not the mountains themselves, at least the manners of their inhabitants. After all, there are few languages in which the relative size of eminences is accurately distinguished, or in which the same name would not be used either for Richmond hill, or Snowdon.

<sup>1</sup> Howard's Theory of the Earth.

place. The country still continues, for the most part, in the wild state painted by Herodotus and Strabo ; and all the countries bordering on the Euxine Sea are still subject to an annual severity of winter, of which (though in a far higher latitude) the inhabitants of our own country can hardly form an idea.

III.—That water freezes when poured on the ground ; that the ground in winter is muddy only where a fire is kindled ; that copper kettles are burst by the freezing of their contents ; that asses, being animals impatient of cold, are found here neither in a wild nor tame state, are circumstances no less characteristic of Modern Scythia, than of Scythia as described by Herodotus and Strabo<sup>1</sup>. Nor do I question the authority of the latter, when he assures us, that the Bosphorus has been sometimes so firmly frozen, that there has been a beaten and miry high-way between Pantica-paeum and Phanagoria ; or that one of the generals of Mithridates gained there, during the winter, a victory with his cavalry, where, the preceding summer, his fleet had been successful. In the neighbourhood of the latter of these towns, by the Russians since called Tmutaracan, a Slavonic inscription has been discovered, which records the measurement of these straits over the ice, by command of the Russian prince, Gleb, in the year 1068<sup>2</sup>. But such events must, from the force of the current, have, at all times, been of rare occurrence. By the best information which I could procure on the spot, though the straits are regularly so far blocked up by ice as to prevent navigation, there is generally a free passage for the stream unfrozen. Across the harbour of Phanagoria, however, sledges are driven with safety ; and, on the other side of the Crimea, a Russian officer assured me that he had driven over the estuary of the rivers Bog and Dnieper, from Otchakof to Kinburn. But not only straits and estuaries, but the whole Sea of Azoph is annually frozen in November, and is seldom navigable earlier than April. In spring, so soon as the ice is supposed to have passed, a small boat is sent by government from Taganrog to Kertch, and *vice versa* ; and till this proof of safety has been given, no vessel is allowed to sail from either port. This sea is fished during winter, through holes cut with mattocks in the ice, with large nets, which are thrust by poles from one to the other ; a method which has given rise to Strabo's exaggerated picture of " fish as large as dolphins," (apparently meaning the bie-

<sup>1</sup> Herod. Melpom. 28. Strabo. L. vii.

<sup>2</sup> See the learned disputation of Count Alexis Moussin Pouschkin on the site of Tmutaracan. Petersburg, 1794.



luga,) “ dug out of the ice with spades<sup>1.</sup>” This remarkable severity of climate on the northern shores of the Euxine, may induce us to give a proportionate faith to what the ancients assure us of its southern and eastern shores ; and though Ovid may be supposed to have exaggerated the miseries of his banishment ; and though religious as well as African prejudice may have swayed Tertullian in his dismal account of Pontus, it is certain that Strabo can be influenced by neither of these motives, where he accounts for Homer’s ignorance of Paphlagonia, “ because this region was inaccessible, through its severity of climate<sup>2.</sup>”

<sup>1</sup> Strabo calls them Antacæi. The bieluga is the largest species of sturgeon with which we are acquainted, and not unfrequently measures twenty feet in length. The same fish is found in the Euphrates, Tigris, and many other Asiatic rivers ; but is unknown, I believe, to the waters of Europe and America. The isinglass which it furnishes forms a considerable article of Russian commerce. Sterlet is another, though much smaller, fish of the same genus, which abounds in the Don and Dnieper. A small tureen of soup, made of this fish, has been known to cost, in Petersburg, 500 rubles. Potemkin sent an aide-de-camp express from Moldavia to a famous cook at Moscow, for a pot of this soup. It was brought to him, to prevent adulteration, sealed up, with the cook’s seal and name on the lid.

<sup>2</sup> The accounts here alluded to may seem to prove that the severity of climate is not confined to the northern coast. Making every allowance for exaggeration, enough will still be left to excite our wonder. Ovid was resident south of the Danube.

“ Nix jacet ; et jactam nec sol pluviae resolvunt ;  
Indurat Boreas, perpetuamque facit.

\* \* \* \* \*

Sæpe sonant moti glacie pendente capilli,  
Et nitet inducto candida barba gelu :  
Nudaque consistunt formam servantia testæ  
Vina ; nec hausta meri, sed data frusta bibunt.

\* \* \* \* \*

Ipse, papyrifero qui non angustior amne  
Miscetur vasto multa per ora freto,  
Cæruleos ventis latices durantibus Ister  
Congelat, et tectis in mare serpit aquis.  
Quâque rates ierant, pedibus nunc itur ; et undas  
Frigore concretas ungula pulsat equi.”

*Tristium, Lib. iii. El. x.*

In another place he comments with equal bitterness on the want of trees :

“ Quoque loco est arbor, turgescit in arbore ramus ;  
Nam procul à Geticis finibus arbor abest.”

*Ibid. Lib. iii. El. xii.*



IV.—To account for this phenomenon is far more difficult than to establish its existence; and the difficulty is greater, because none of those theories by which the problems of climate have been usually solved, will, in the present instance, apply. In elevation above the sea, which, when considerable, is an obvious and undoubted cause of cold, the downs of European Tartary do not exceed those of England. Forests, the removal

Mr. Pinkerton had, apparently, forgotten this last passage, when, after observing that “we read of battles on the ice of the Danube in Roman times,” (where do we read this?) he proceeds to assure us that “this prodigious river was then surrounded by enormous forests, which shaded and chilled all around.” (Dissertation on the Goths, P. I. c. iv. p. 44.) This is, indeed, a very common error, but it is an error notwithstanding. The banks of the Lower Danube appear to have been naked of trees.

The language of Tertullian in describing the climate of Pontus, is more forcible: “Dies nunquam patens; Sol nunquam libens, unus aër, nebula totus annus, hybernum omne quod flaverit, aquilo est. Liquores ignibus redeunt; amnes glacie negantur; montes pruina exaggravantur; omnia torpent; omnia rigent!” (Tertull. adv. Marcionem, lib. i. 1.) But Pontus was the country of the heretic Marcion, and had, therefore, perhaps no chance of being praised. Ovid was, at all events, an eye-witness.

About the year 1780, on the banks of the Liman, or estuary of the Dniester, a tomb, of workmanship evidently Grecian, was discovered by a very intelligent Dutch officer in the Russian service, General Wollant, a friend and correspondent of the lamented Mr. Tweddell. This tomb, among the usual contents of a sepulchre, offered a small female bust of burnt clay, and exquisite workmanship, which certain antiquaries at St. Petersburg, including in their number the Empress Catherine, discovered to bear a wonderful likeness to the medals of Julia, the daughter of Augustus. So picturesque an incident was not to be neglected; and it was inferred (taking for granted the vulgar story that Ovid's intrigue with Julia was the cause of his banishment,) that this was the tomb of that unfortunate bard. This opinion was backed by several notable arguments. First, it is plain from Ovid's Tristia that he was dissatisfied with his residence at Tomis, south of the Danube, and therefore it was very probable that he would travel for change of air; and whither so likely as to the Tyras, one hundred and forty miles northward, and in so pleasant a country as Scythia? Besides, as Tomis was a garrison town, and often besieged by the Sarmatians and Getæ, what more natural than that, for the sake of repose and safety, he should go still farther into the enemy's country? Particularly as at Tyras a Roman colony was established by Trajan, which must have been a great protection and comfort to a sick man in the days of Augustus. Finally, because he had a friend in Cotys, king of Thrace, he chose to reside out of his protection in Sarmatia.

I have given these arguments, I hope not unfairly, as they may be drawn from Guthrie's Letters, (pp. 433-4.) as they afford, perhaps, a curious specimen of the antiquarian spirit which has hitherto been exerted on Scythia. It is but justice to Dr. Guthrie and General Wollant to observe, that this mass of evidence was far from convincing either of them. The empress, however, decided the tomb to be Ovid's property, and the neighbouring fortress still bears his name.

of which has, in many countries, been supposed to diminish frost<sup>1</sup>, have here never existed ; and though the custom of burning the withered grass in spring, which has been for so many centuries the only secret of Scythian husbandry, may have produced in many parts of this vast pasture, a considerable deposit of saltpetre, it is not easy to suppose with Gibbon, that a cause like this can produce such bitterness of wind, or such unvarying rigour of winter<sup>2</sup>. It may be observed, however, (and the observation, though it will not solve the difficulty, may perhaps direct our attention into the right train of enquiry,) that it is only in comparison with the more western parts of Europe, that the climate of Scythia is a subject of surprise ; and that in each of the two great continents we discover, in our progress eastward, along the same parallel of latitude, a sensible and uniform increase of cold. Vienna is colder than Paris, Astrachan than Vienna ; the eastern districts of Asia are incomparably colder than Astrachan ; and Choka, an island of the Pacific, in the same latitude with Astrachan or Paris, was found by the Russian circumnavigators in 1805, exposed to a winter even longer and more severe than is commonly felt at Archangel. In America the same marked difference is observed between the climate of Nootka and Hudson's Bay ; and even in so small a scale of nature as that afforded by our own island, the frosts are generally less severe in Lancashire than in the East Riding of Yorkshire. If, then, the southern districts of European Russia be exposed to a winter more severe than those of France or Germany, they may boast in their turn a more genial climate than the banks of the Ural and the Amur ; while all are subject to a dispensation of nature which extends too far, and acts too uniformly, to be ascribed to any local or temporary causes.

V.—Nor is this length and bitterness of winter without its own advantages, which, by the never-failing compensation of nature, suffice to reconcile the Scythian to his climate, and to make that very climate necessary to his comfort and prosperity. The hardened crust of snow, which transforms every track into a natural rail-road, by the cheap and rapid intercourse it offers between Petersburg and Odessa, Poland and China, repays most

<sup>1</sup> In the time of Herodotus the Scythians were accustomed to burn the bones of the animals which they had killed, in order to cook the meat, "the country being miserably bare of wood—*αινως αξυλον εουσης.*"—Melpom. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. xxvi.

amply the necessity of warmer clothing<sup>1</sup>. A severe frost is most advantageous to the fisheries of the Palus Maeotis and the Don; and the driest deserts receive from the annual melting of the snow a supply of luxuriant herbage for herds of cattle, the numbers of which a western European would, perhaps, with difficulty conceive. No country is more abundant in animals than Scythia. The fisheries of the Tanais supplied the Roman world; nor is it easy to set a limit to the numbers which may be hereafter supported by the fish now piled up as useless, and suffered to infect the air in every Cossak village, and round the black tents of the Calmuks. From the south of Russia are sent almost all the hides and tallow consumed in Europe; and so numerous are their herds in comparison to the population, that at Charkof, in 1805, the market-price of beef was about a farthing the English pound, while at Voronetz, as I was credibly assured, the whole ox was sometimes thrown into the cauldron, to avoid the labour of separating the tallow from the *useless flesh*. The Cossak and Malo-Russian drovers make their annual journeys even so far as the heart of Germany, of which country, and its language, I found many who had acquired a knowledge, as travellers, which has doubtless been highly advantageous to them in the late war. Nor can it be questioned that, to the habits of rambling thus acquired, their consequent indifference to home, their familiarity with horses, and their experience of moving in large bodies, (circumstances which always make a grazing district a valuable nursery for soldiers,) as much, perhaps, as to any peculiarities in their government and discipline, the military prowess of the modern Cossak may be ascribed.

APPENDIX.

VI.—It is not true, however, that agriculture is entirely neglected. On the northern shore of this great sea of land, the Malo-Russians, an industrious and frugal race, are gradually reclaiming a considerable tract to the purposes of tillage, and every year thrusting their hamlets still further into the desert. Now, as in the time of Herodotus, a part of the southern wanderers, though despising bread as an article of food, are accustomed to raise grain for exportation. Some miserable villages of French and German emigrants were established on the Dnieper by Catherine, and the Cossaks have reared on the banks of the Don a few precarious vineyards. But to any great extension of agriculture in the interior, the want of timber presents, as yet, an insuperable obstacle, since not only shelter and the

<sup>1</sup> This facility of intercourse is noticed by Herodotus, Melp. 28.—Ἐπὶ τὸν κρυσταλλοῦ οἱ εὐτος ταφρον Σκυθαι κατοικημενοι στρατευονται, και τας ἀμαξας επελαυνουσι περην εις τους Σινδους.

means of enclosure are denied, but also the commonest implements of husbandry are to be procured or replaced from a distance. On the banks of the Don or Dnieper, where the forests of the north are easily floated down in rafts, this want is not perceptible ; but in the higher country, and even in the towns of the Crimea, it every where occurs to the traveller's notice. The vilest and most insufficient substitutes for fuel, bent-grass, rushes, the dung of animals, are painfully collected and preserved with care<sup>1</sup>. The tent of the Calmuk (a work of singular beauty and ingenuity) is constructed of sticks no larger than a common fishing-rod. The Cossaks of the steppe, (for so these grassy deserts are called) who, though graziers, are never wanderers, lodge in damp and smoky dens, sunk below the level of the soil—the walls of earth, the roof of sod, externally resembling oblong barrows ; while, not only the beams for their roofs, and the wood for their waggons, but even those lances which have so gloriously vindicated the liberties of Europe, are mostly of exotic growth, and the produce of distant forests.

VII.—Another impediment to agriculture is found in the swarms of locusts which, at various intervals, have ravaged many parts of Scythia : their numbers and appearance in the air, which they almost darken, was described to me by an eye-witness of one of their visits, as a scene of singular awfulness and horror. They are ruinous indeed to the pasture, as well as to the corn-land ; but a tribe of herdsmen has more power than a race of husbandmen to avoid the spot of their depredations ; and the means employed to stop their progress are less injurious to grazing than to arable districts. It is singular that the ancient accounts of Scythia make no mention of these devouring insects ; and it may be feared that their flights have been for many years extending gradually westward. Should France become subject to their annual inroads, our channel would, with a fair wind, be but an insignificant barrier.

VIII.—Salt, of an excellent quality, but which the inhabitants know not how to free from its impurities, is taken in prodigious quantities from the Sea of Zabasche, and the numerous brackish lakes, Caspian Seas in miniature, which are found in this great plain. Coal, a pit of which would be more valuable than a gold-mine, is found near Lugan ; but the quantity

<sup>1</sup> At Taganrog, though a sea-port, and enjoying an easy communication with the Don and Donetz, fire-wood cost, in 1806, thirty rubles the stack of seven feet cube. The ruble was then worth 2s. 8d. English ; and this was at a place where the best beef was bought at three-half-pence the pound.

as yet discovered is not more than sufficient to supply the neighbouring foundery. Manufactures cannot exist to any great extent; yet the felts made here are of various colours, and so remarkable for their softness and thickness, as to be sent into Turkey, where they are used as carpets. A considerable quantity of brandy is distilled at Rostof and Taganrog from the sirup of grapes, and other fruits imported from Trebizond and Sinope. The Cossaks have, indeed, for many years been anxious to establish vineyards, but the frost has repeatedly destroyed them; and even in the most auspicious seasons, I can give no favourable account of the wines either of the Don or the Crimea. The composition, called Donskoy wine in Russia, which my friend Dr. Clarke has, not without reason, applauded, is made, as I was given to understand, of the foreign sirup of grapes already noticed, and of wine from the Dardanelles and Archipelago, of which many tons are annually brought by Greek and Turkish vessels to the harbour of Taganrog. Strabo has remarked that the inhabitants of the Bosphorus were accustomed to bury their vines in winter<sup>1</sup>. I do not believe that the Cossaks of the present time do so; yet it seldom happens that an invention so simple and advantageous is lost by a nation. But the Bosphorites have been long since expelled, and those who came in their place were better skilled in destruction than in restoration. It must not be omitted, in the description of Scythian industry, that the Tartar towns of Batchiserai and Karasubazar are still renowned for their manufactories of leather and steel; and that the late Chevalier Gascoigne had established a cannon-foundery at Lugan, on the Donetz; while the stuffs and trinkets of the east and west appear, as in a common centre, and in considerable abundance, in the bazaars of Tcherkask and the Armenian settlements of Nakitchovan.

IX.—To the happiness and political importance of these wide countries, the mighty streams which at considerable distances intersect them, contribute too greatly to be passed over in silence. Of these, the most celebrated in ancient times, though in modern days not of equal renown, is the Donetz, or Danaetz, which, and not the Don, as is vulgarly supposed, was apparently the Tanais of the Greeks, and the reputed border of Europe<sup>2</sup>. When I myself passed this least of the Scythian waters between Smiof and Izium, though at a considerable distance from its mouth, and though the annual inundation had already, at that date, (the 29th of March,)

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, lib. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Clarke's Travels, vol. i. p. 306. See also his map of the common embouchure of the Donetz and the Don.

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in part subsided, it still covered an expanse of two-thirds of an English mile<sup>1</sup>. The water was then much discoloured, and the stream violent; but the fertility and rankness of vegetation which it causes is, by the accounts of the neighbouring peasants, little less than Egyptian. The same, or still greater expanse of inundation; the same muddy fertility, and swarms of fish which could neither be numbered nor exhausted, we afterwards found to characterize the Don; and the two rivers united form a delta of marshy islands, in extent not inferior, perhaps, to that of the Nile, and susceptible of equal cultivation; but abandoned now to reeds, and infection, and noxious insects, or affording, at most, a shelter to wild boars and deer. Westward of the Crimea, the Bog and Dnieper, (the Hyparis and Borysthenes of antiquity,) united at their mouths like those already mentioned, enclose, like them, a number of islands, and diffuse fertility by their annual overflowings of melted ice and snow, while their course and depth are far more favourable to the purposes of foreign intercourse. The other rivers are of less importance.

X.—The inhabitants of Scythia offer, at the present day, a very singular and varied picture, to form the groups of which, almost all the nations of both east and west appear to have furnished contingents. It has been well observed by the most animated of modern travellers, that in the streets of a single city we may recognize "Circassians, Malo-Russians and Russians, Tartars, Poles, Greeks, Turks, Calmuks, and Armenians," speaking their respective languages, dressed in their national habits, and affording a prospect which, in richness and variety, transcends a Venetian carnival<sup>2</sup>. But amid this chequered crowd, the three leading and most powerful branches are always strongly distinguishable, varying from the rest, and from each other, in features, language, dress, and religion—the Cossak, the Calmuk, and the Nogay.

XI.—The first of these presents a style of feature perfectly European: an open countenance; a complexion not so fair as the northern nations,

<sup>1</sup> The ferry-boat in which I crossed, was a double canoe, like those of the South Sea islanders; each canoe hollowed from a single tree, and the pair connected by a platform of spars and planks, eight feet across, on which the carriage stood. It was rowed by four men with paddles. The *μονοξύλα*, or canoes of a single tree, have in all ages been characteristic of these rivers. The double canoe is a modern improvement. In the time of Rubruquis, they ferried over a cart by putting one wheel in one boat, and another in a separate one, and the two were then lashed together by ropes.

<sup>2</sup> Clarke's Travels, vol. i. p. 336.

but clearer and more florid than the Spaniards, Italians, or French ; the eyes are generally hazel ; the nose small and turned up ; the hair black or auburn, with a strong natural curl. Their limbs are remarkably well turned, and they are almost as active and indefatigable on foot as on horse-back. From time immemorial they have lived in fixed habitations ; have preferred bread as an article of food ; and have been dexterous and hardy boatmen, both on the rivers, the banks of which they inhabit, and amid the storms of the neighbouring Euxine. Like the Russians they are Christians of the Greek communion ; and their language, as I understood from many persons in the country, and as has been since confirmed to me by Captain Lisiensky, (himself a Malo-Russian, and their neighbour,) is a purer Slavonic than is now spoken either by the Russians, Poles, or Bohemians.

XII.—The Calmuks are a race as different from the Cossaks as one human being can be supposed to differ from another. Their complexion is swarthy, nearly approaching to copper, but which does not prevent a warm and healthy tinge from appearing on the cheeks of their younger females. Their noses are broad and depressed at the point ; their faces broad, and, even in youth, often wrinkled ; the eyes long and narrow, and the eyebrows form the same angle with the nose which is visible in the Chinese, whom, in many respects, they much resemble. Their hair is coal-black, lank, and strong as horse-hair, but their chins are seldom ornamented with a beard. They are strong, broad-set, and hardy ; both men and women excellent riders, but on foot by no means nimble, and their legs are, for want of walking exercise, not well-proportioned to their muscular and fleshy bodies<sup>1</sup>. Their dispositions are remarkably sanguine and lively, their countenances intelligent, and they are said to delight in music and poetry to a degree of enthusiasm resembling what is told of the Arabs. Their usual musical instrument is a kind of lute, and they have large and hoarse-toned trumpets, which are chiefly used in their religious ceremonies. Though a wild, they are not an uninstructed race ; few encampments are without a schoolmaster ; and the leisure of a pastoral life has rendered writing, reading, and the study of history more universal

<sup>1</sup> The correspondence between this picture and that drawn by Ammianus Marcellinus, (lib. xxxi. § 2.) is very striking ; and apparently sufficient to prove that the Huns and Calmuks were the same race ; a supposition confirmed by the traditions of the latter, who often boast, as I was assured by many who had conversed with them, that their ancestors formerly subdued the world.



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among them, than among the peasants of most European countries. They are said to make good soldiers, and have at present the same weapons and privileges as the Cossaks ; but they never serve on foot, and their dislike to the sea amounts almost to abhorrence. All are irreclaimable wanderers, detesting the confinement of a house, and the insipidity of bread and vegetables. Their food is raw flesh and the granulated butter of the east ; their drink milk or melted tallow, and the fermented milk of mares<sup>1</sup>, which, since their abode in Russia, they have learnt the pernicious art of distilling into brandy, and to which they sometimes add the luxuries of tea and hydromel. They are wealthy in camels, horses, and horned cattle, as well as in the large broad-tailed sheep, which are common in all the countries of Asia. These tails, when produced on table, where they are considered a luxury, are little less than an ordinary shoulder of mutton ; their substance is nearly of the same consistence with the udder of a cow ; and they drag, as the animal walks, so completely on the ground, that, to save them from this painful friction, a little sledge, or board with rollers, is often fastened to them.

XIII.—Of the tents of this wandering race, the lightness and elegance, combined with firmness and warmth, are well worthy the traveller's notice. Those which I saw were a circle of slender rods, of which the lower ends were fixed in the earth in a sloping direction, so that the upper parts crossed each other in chequer-work, like a Chinese railing ; while their tops were connected with horizontal sticks, like those called “bales” by cricket-players, extending from one to another, and tied on with thongs, or the tendons of animals. From this cornice, which is about four feet from the

<sup>1</sup> The “koumiss,” or fermented milk, has, in all ages, been a characteristic Scythian dainty. “They diet,” says Strabo, (lib. vii.) “on horseflesh, mare’s milk cheese, and *milk vinegar*,”—οἶνγαλα—τοντο δε και οψηρα εστιν αυτοις κατασκευασθεν πως.—I find no mention of mare’s milk distilled into brandy in Rubruquis, and suppose, therefore, that it is of later invention than his time. The method of making the koumiss is very simple. The milk, warm from the mare, is mingled with a sixth part of warm water, and about a twelfth part of very sour cow’s milk, or the acid lees of a former brewing. The mixture is then agitated in a churn, (a leatheren sack answers the purpose with the Calmucks,) and then put in a warm place to ferment for about twenty-four hours. They are careful from time to time to renew the agitation, and break the scum which rises to the top, which it is necessary to blend intimately with the rest of the fermenting mass ; and thus a heady and well-tasted liquor is obtained, in high repute both among the Calmucks and Cossaks. Cow’s milk does not contain sufficient saccharine matter to ferment in this manner ; and though one of the Nogay tribes, according to Pallas, has succeeded in distilling it into brandy, it only yields one ninth of its quantity in ardent spirit ; whereas mare’s-milk produces at least one-third.

ground, a number of rods arise, like the ribs of an umbrella, connected in the centre by a stout circular hoop, which thus, like the Foramen of the Pantheon, was supported above the middle of the dome, and became, so to say, a key-stone to the whole rotunda. The frame-work thus completed, is covered with a hood of thick felt, and a low turf wall which surrounds the edifice, about eighteen inches high, contributes to keep the house warm, and the covering in its place. The circle of sticks is so far incomplete as to leave room for an entrance, and this is covered by a loose flap of the same material with the hood. The central hoop serves as both window and chimney; but when their miserable fire is burnt to a red heat, the inhabitants carefully close this orifice with a piece of felt, and confine as much as possible of the precious warmth within their dwelling. The furniture, it may be easily supposed, is not very costly. Some felt-carpets, a mattrass, a tea-equipage of coarse china-ware, a lance and carbine, a few leather sacks and copper kettles, and a little establishment of idols, compose, in general, their only magnificence.

XIV.—Thése Calmuks<sup>1</sup>, who are divided into the four great families of Oluts, Torgouts, Dersets, and Soungars, are the latest of all the nations who passed from Asia into Eastern Europe; and they only separated themselves from their countrymen of the Contaisch, or central kingdom of Tartary, about the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> Their subsequent fortunes have been, on the whole, neither brilliant nor peaceable. They were, during many years, engaged in constant feuds with their Cossak and Nogaian neighbours; and at length, in 1770, the tyranny of a Russian governor induced no fewer than 90,000 tents, or families,—the flower of their nobility, their priesthood, and their warriors,—to emigrate once more into the deserts now subject to China, and solicit, in the language of returning prodigals, the protection of their “father, Kien-Long.” They were at first received with all the politic kindness which the interest or apprehensions of the court of Pekin would naturally show to a race of warriors thus numerous, whose lances and firelocks were equally formidable to Chinese

<sup>1</sup> Calmuk, I am informed by the Rev. Mr. Pinkerton, whose extensive knowledge of the Mongolian and Tartar dialects, I have already mentioned, means in the Tartar language, “Refuse,” or “Worthless;” and was originally applied to the Oluts by their neighbours as a term of contempt. At present, however, like many other names of the sort, it is no longer used reproachfully, and the modern Oluts have no objection to be thus called.

<sup>2</sup> Des Guignes, tom. iv.

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and Tartars. The history of their emigration was engraven on marble ; their princes were honoured with the buttons and badges of Mandarins ; and lands were assigned for their pasturage, in the most fertile districts of Tartary. By degrees, however, they were rendered liable to suspicious and vexatious superintendance. On plausible pretexts, their princes were detained at Pekin, while the people were divided (for the convenience of nourishing them) into different regions of the empire : and, if those fugitives may be credited, who have found means to retrace their steps to their former habitations on the Volga, the Torgouts now regret, under the jealous patronage of the Mantchoos, the more tolerable bondage of Russia. From the latter power, those who remain under its dominion are not at present subject to any vexation. They amount to thirty thousand families, or about 150,000 souls, of whom a seventh part are converted to Christianity<sup>1</sup>. The remainder still follow the religion of the Delai Lama ; and a nuncio from Tibet had, when I was at Tcherkask, but recently quitted the neighbouring encampment. A few months afterwards, my friend, Mr. Charles Vaughan<sup>2</sup>, now Secretary of Legation at Madrid, whose Persian Travels are still, alas ! unpublished, met this Tibetan ecclesiastic at Astrachan. He was regarded by the Torgouts as too holy to touch the ground ;

<sup>1</sup> The Christian Calmuks have, in another respect, departed from the customs and prejudices of their ancestors. They have become fishermen ; and their black tents are seen pitched among the reeds and mud of the Don, close to the water's edge. This situation not being favourable for camels or horses, they transport their tents and families from place to place in large boats, one of which appears to be the joint property of many families. Some of them I saw in the act of removal, which afforded a most curious groupe. The filth and stench were terrible. The whole Delta of the Don, with all its streams and marshes, is absolutely poisoned with dead fish. A Calmuk fisherman, out of a prodigious haul,—as the salting or drying fish is expensive, and as it is some labour to select and throw back into the river the useless fish while they are yet alive,—allows more than half to rot on the beach. If, indeed, these dung-hills grow so fast around his hut that the stench annoys him, (and to annoy a Calmuk it must be what the Knight of the Burning Pestle calls “ a most valiant stink indeed,”) he shovels the dead fish into the river.

While going by water from Tcherkask to Azoph, I was wind-bound in the neighbourhood of one of these encampments ; and, after repeated attempts to obtain water which was not loathsome both to sight and smell, I abandoned in despair, though very thirsty, the idea of making tea, or diluting the brandy from the mighty river which extended around us. These Calmuks, though they have no objection to the navigation of the river, are never known to go to sea, or enter into the service of the traders at Tcherkask or Taganrog.

<sup>2</sup> The Right Honourable C. R. Vaughan, now (1830) His Britannic Majesty's Minister to the United States.

and when he visited the Russian governor, was carefully carried up stairs by attendant lamas.

XV.—The Tartars, or Nogays, (the origin of which last name will be explained in the course of this work,) are the most numerous, and were, till the Russian conquest, the dominant race in this country. They derive, as is well known, their descent from one of the tribes who followed Zingis Khân, and regard themselves as the elder branch of that mighty family, of which the Turks are only cadets. In person, habits, and temper, they differ widely from the Calmuks. Their faces, indeed, are generally broad, and their eyes small, but their complexions are fairer; their eyelids and eyebrows resemble those of Western Europe; their noses are universally aquiline, and their chins tolerably provided with a curly beard. Unlike the Calmuks, who have no wheel-carriages, and whose tents are taken to pieces and packed up on the back of a camel at every removal of the family, the Nogays have their huts mounted on wheels, and drawn from place to place by oxen, buffaloes, or camels. Many of them have, in the Crimea, abandoned their wandering and nomadic habits; and others, in the neighbourhood of Marinopol, though disliking bread themselves, have no objection, as has been already noticed, to the labours or profits of husbandry. Their persons are generally tall and large, of a kind which promises more strength than agility or endurance; their tempers are grave, gentle, and, from want of adequate motives to exertion, indolent. They speak a dialect of the Turkish language, and are zealous professors of Mahomedanism. Their origin and history, as well as those of the Cossaks, will occupy much of this treatise; though it is remarkable that neither of the races which now chiefly possess the country, can be any otherwise regarded than as among the last of a long train of successive invaders, by whom Scythia has, from the earliest periods of profane history, been ravaged.

XVI.—No district in the world has more or surer marks of the prolonged dominion of mankind, than the wastes over which the reader has been conducted. Besides the deep black mould impregnated with saltpetre, which is the common soil of the valleys, and evinces the annual decomposition of vegetable matter by the fires of many successive generations, the ancient proprietors of the country have provided for their own remembrance by monumental structures of the most durable form and material. The whole vast solitude from the Dnieper to the Donetz, and from Bakmuth to the golden gate of the Crimea, is like one unbounded cemetery, thickly spotted over with sepulchres. No towns, no villages, no solitary farms, no

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Muscovitish domes or Turkish minarets, distract the attention from these rude memorials of a forgotten race ; and the herds of cattle which seem to own no master ; the marmots which whistle around our feet<sup>1</sup> ; the eagles which scarcely notice our approach ; and the sepulchres of various forms which rise on every side, impress the traveller, at times, with an awful and singular sensation, as if, of human beings, the dead only were the occupants of Scythia.

XVII.—Some of these tombs are mere conical barrows, of a character too vague to afford any clue to their founders, inasmuch as they are the common kind of tomb erected by barbarians in every age and country, and may be referred, with equal probability, to the most remote antiquity, or to the Calmucks of the last century. In many of them gun-barrels have been found, which identifies them with the last-named people ; while some, which contain vaults roofed with stone, may be ascribed, with more probability, to the early Grecian colonists. Others, however, there are, of which Rubruquis noticed great numbers in his journey from the Crimea to the Don, and which Mr. Thornton and myself found in equal abundance on the downs between Bakmuth and Ivanovna, which differ widely from every other ancient memorial in the world. They consist of a tumulus of solid earth, surmounted by one or, more frequently, two statues, from five to six feet high, representing male or female figures in a sitting posture, naked, except the loins ; the head covered with a ponderous cap, or turban, a massive necklace hanging over the bosom, and a small drinking-cup at the girdle. Though rudely, they are not, considering their apparent antiquity, contemptibly executed ; and are by far the most interesting objects which

<sup>1</sup> An excellent description of these marmots, from the suroke, as large as a common terrier, down to the diminutive suslik, is given by Dr. Clarke, (vol. i. p. 248, 4to. edit.) The voice of the suslik is a shrill whistle, more resembling the note of a bird than any sound uttered by a quadruped. They are very nimble and lively, and difficult to be shot, as, while the herd is feeding, there are some who seem to act as sentinels, and on the first whistle the whole army disappears into their burrows \*. Eagles are also very common on the more elevated parts of the steppe, though Strabo denies that they are found there. He is guilty of an opposite error in peopling these wilds with a fabulous animal named *colos*, which carries a stock of water in its head ; and with the *onager*, or wild ass. It is possible that by the *onager* he means the wild horse, which is still occasionally met with, and resembles, to a careless observer, an ass more than a horse.

\* For a further account of the suslik, by Mr. Reginald Heber, see p. 213.—ED.

excite the traveller's attention during his journey over these wearisome lawns.

XVIII.—To ask the history of these monuments from the Calmuks, the Torgorts, or the Nogays, would be about as useless as to interrogate the bones which they cover; and though the greater number of travellers have noticed and described them, nothing can be more unsupported and vague than the conjectures which have been produced as to their origin. If, with Dr. Guthrie<sup>1</sup>, who agrees with Pallas and Gmelin, we ascribe their erection to the Huns, it is strange that no images of the same kind are found in countries where that people made a longer stay than in European Scythia; or that the Calmuks, a race of Hunnish extraction, and whose customs and religion have remained unchanged from a very remote antiquity, should not have retained the practice. Dr. Guthrie, indeed, lays considerable stress on the likeness of these images to the ancient descriptions of Hunnish deformity, and to a supposed testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus concerning them. But, between the modern Calmuks, at least, and these images, (though I have seen more specimens of both than Dr. Guthrie,) I could certainly perceive no striking resemblance; nor, in their present defaced and weather-beaten state, can they be said to afford a tolerable representation of any variety of the human countenance. The Doctor's reference to Ammianus Marcellinus is a still more curious specimen of his antiquarian judgement and critical acumen. "Ammianus," he tells us, "speaks of these very same statues in the fifth century, which, he says, are true representations of the Hunnish face." This citation, given without naming either book or page, long perplexed me, and I have been at length compelled to conclude, that the passage alluded to is—"Hunnum gen, monumentis veteribus leviter nota, ultra paludes Maeoticas glaciale Oceanum accolens omnem modum feritatis excedit<sup>2</sup>." These words, by the help of a little bad construing, may, no doubt, be rendered, "The nation of the Huns, easily known from the ancient monuments beyond the Palus Maeotis," &c. The same objection which forbids us to consider the Huns as the authors of these sepulchres, must also militate against the Cumani; and we have the testimony of Rubruquis to show that they existed at the first arrival of the Mongolian tribes in Europe, so that these last are likewise excluded from all claim.

<sup>1</sup> Letters on the Taurida, Appendix, p. 409.

<sup>2</sup> Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxxi. § 2.

XIX.—The cup, however, suspended from the girdle of each, which all observers have noticed, and none have hitherto explained, affords a sufficient clue to their history. It was the known symbol which the Scythians inherited from Hercules, and which all their nations wore thus fastened, in token of descent from him<sup>1</sup>. The allegory or fable on which Herodotus grounds this custom, I shall certainly not attempt to unravel; but the custom for which it endeavours to account is not without its interest, and may almost identify these singular memorials with “those sepulchres of their fathers,” for which alone the Scythians told Darius they thought it worth their while to contend<sup>2</sup>.

That any now existing are so old as the Persian invasion, I will not certainly maintain; though to monuments of this kind a duration almost indefinite may be ascribed in a country so thinly inhabited, and where loneliness of situation is a better safeguard than all the care of superstitious or antiquarian affection. But that these are of Scythian origin, no reasonable doubt can, I think, be entertained.

XX.—But though these images be the only monuments which bear certain evidence of their great antiquity (for I dare not affirm that the vallum near Iski-Crim, or the similar work on the Isthmus of Perekop, are the same which Herodotus mentions under the name of Cimmerian walls<sup>3</sup>), the Scythians whose ashes they cover, were not the earliest occupants of the country. The Cimmerians, or *Cwmraeg*, who in almost all Europe have composed the advanced guard of colonization, and have every where been compelled to fly still further, or to retire into mountains and wildernesses before the succeeding waves of fiercer or more numerous tribes, have left their name, if we believe Herodotus, affixed to the Bosphorus, or ferry of the Palus Mæotis, and to a region, apparently the Iski-Crim of modern times. On the approach of the Scythians they appear to have yielded without a struggle; the major part of the nation retreating through Colchis into Asia Minor, while some of the boldest, as there is reason to suppose, maintained their ground in the mountains of the Crimea. The Tauri (a name derived from the Celtic word *Tor*, a rock or headland) were renowned, like the Druids, for their bloody sacrifices; they are expressly

<sup>1</sup> Ετι και εξ τοδε φιαλας εκ των ζωστηρων φορειν Σκυθας.—Melp. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ει δε δεοι παντως εξ τουτο κατα ταχος απικνεεσθαι, τυγχανουσι ήμιν εοντες ΤΑΦΟΙ ΠΑΤΡΩΙΟΙ, φερετε, τουτους αγενροντες, συγχεειν πειρασθε αυτους, και γνωσεσθε τοτε, ειτε ήμιν μαχησομεθα περι των ταφων, ειτε και ου μαχησομεθα.—Melpom. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. Melp. 12.

called by Herodotus a nation distinct from the Scythians<sup>1</sup>, and even at the present day, the florid complexion, the blue eyes, and curling auburn hair of many of these mountaineers *are a presumptive evidence of their pedigree*<sup>2</sup>. Of the fugitives into Asia, a part at least possessed themselves of the country round Sinope; and however inferior they might be to the Scythians, were so formidable to their new neighbours, that they had nearly reduced the whole of Asia Minor, and laid siege to the citadel of Sardis itself<sup>3</sup>. How long their ravages continued we know not; but we learn from Herodotus that they were driven at length beyond the Halys by Halyattes, king of Lydia. It is not impossible (and the conjecture, if confirmed by future discoveries, may tend to clear up a very obscure portion of historical geography) that vestiges of their language and physiognomy may be found among the yellow-haired tribes of the country between the Caspian and Euxine<sup>4</sup>, and in the name of Albyn, or Albania, affixed during many ages

<sup>1</sup> Παραπλησια ταντη και οι Ταυροι νεμονται της Σκυθικης ως ει της Αττικης αλλο εθνος και μη Αθηναιοι νεμοιατο τον γουνον του Σουνιακου.—Melpom. 99.

<sup>2</sup> The Nogays regard these mountaineers as a distinct race from themselves; and instead of Tartar, call them by the contemptuous diminution of *Tat*. Dr. Pallas, to whose hospitality and conversation all travellers into these countries are indebted, assured me that their language differed, in many respects, from that of the other Tartars, which, as well as their fair complexion, he was inclined to ascribe to a mixture of Gothic blood. The Goths, indeed, did, in small numbers, occupy some of the mountain villages in the time of Rubruquis; but among those of whom I am now speaking, Dr. Pallas was not able to mention any Gothic words as still prevalent, nor did any such fall under my own observation, though I was not unable to judge of any striking similarity either to the German or Swedish languages. I was ignorant, however, of Turkish; and was at that time too young and too little experienced in such enquiries to have either power or inclination to pursue them properly. If we recollect the length of time during which the Celts have, under circumstances not dissimilar, maintained their national and separate existence among the rocks of Cornwall, Wales, and Biscay, it cannot be thought improbable that we should also find some relics of them among the modern inhabitants of the Crimea.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. Clio, 15, 16; Melpom. 12.

<sup>4</sup> The beautiful Circassian prisoner described by Dr. Clarke, (Vol. i. p. 378,) had light brown hair; and she who was offered for sale in 1788 to the German merchant Keeling, had fair hair and light blue eyes. (Guthrie's Taurida, p. 153.) The same features, in which many of these mountaineers are strongly contrasted with the neighbouring nations, are also noticed by other travellers. Those whom I fell in with had dark hair and complexions.

The name of Albania has been often considered merely as a corruption of Alania, and deduced from those Alani who were driven southward by the Huns. But three hundred years before the time of Attila's invasion, and while the Alani were far to the north, Strabo places the Albani among these mountains; and these two nations are expressly distinguished from



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to the *Hill country* of Caucasus, as Iberia (a word also of Celtic derivation) was to the district adjoining the *Fords* of the Araxes and Cyrus. The kings, however, of the Cimmerians, (for, like many other nations of antiquity, they appear to have had several possessed of joint authority,) did not so easily concur in the apprehensions of their people. When these last had determined to fly before the Scythians, the kings, preferring death to the infamy of deserting their country, fell each on the others sword, and were buried by their nation on the banks of the Dniester, where their tumulus, which certainly existed in the time of Herodotus, may probably yet reward the enquiries of future travellers<sup>1</sup>.

XXI.—This invasion of Asia is placed by Herodotus in the time of Ardys, son of Gyges, king of Lydia, who began to reign, according to most chronologers, in the year before Christ, 680. And as it is apparent, from the circumstances mentioned, that the prior expulsion of the Celts from the northern shores of the Euxine was atchieved by the Scythians, without any difficulty or protracted struggle, we cannot well assign an earlier date than the above for the arrival of this last named people from the east. A far more ancient residence in Europe is claimed, indeed, for the Scythians by many learned men of modern times, who are anxious to derive from their lineage some of the earliest, as well as the most illustrious tribes of the west, and to refer to them as to a common storehouse of nations—the Goths, the Germans, the Thracians, the Greeks, and the Italians. Now, as all these nations, except the two first, are known to have existed as flourishing and populous communities for at least a thousand years before the date at which, if we believe Herodotus, the Scythians first drove their waggons eastward of the Tanais, it must follow either that Herodotus is incorrect in his statements, or that the Scythians, who expelled the Celts, had been preceded by other tribes of the same nation, who, at some very remote and unknown period, had colonized the countries above enumerated; or, lastly, that the above hypothesis is at least so far incorrect, as it derives the three last-named nations from the wanderers of Scythia. But that Herodotus could be mistaken as to the date of the Cimmerian inroad, which had occurred in times so near his own, and by which his own country of Asiatic Greece had so materially suffered, is a supposition which will not be very readily entertained. Nor, when the

each other by Ammianus Marcellinus. (Strabo, lib. viii, Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxvii. c. 12; xxxi. c. 2.)

<sup>1</sup> Herod. Melp. 12.

same historian ascribes the Celtic migration to a cause so probable and so obvious, as their own previous expulsion from their former possessions by a barbarous enemy, can any sufficient reason be assigned for doubting the accuracy of his information. And his authority is, on all which relates to the north-eastern parts of the world, so infinitely superior to that of succeeding historians, that some very strong reason must be assigned, to induce us to transfer our faith from him to the inconsistent and improbable compilations of Diodorus and Troyus Pompeius.

XXII.—That the Scythians were an ancient nation, though asserted in the vague eulogia pronounced on them by Justin and Diodorus, was not the tradition either of the Scythians themselves, or of the Greeks in the time of Herodotus. The Scythians esteemed themselves the most recent of mankind, and reckoned but ten centuries from the time of their mythological ancestor, Targitaus, to the invasion of their country by Darius Hystaspes<sup>1</sup>; a lapse of years too insignificant to ascend to the date of the ancient Pelasgi, or greatly to exceed the foundation of the kingdom of Argos. The Greeks, so far from reverencing them as the elder branch of the Pelasgian or Hellenic family, were content to ascribe their origin to a casual amour of Hercules, himself of Pelasgian race, and whom they described as wandering into these vast and uninhabited plains for the first time, on his return from a western expedition<sup>2</sup>. These stories, it is true, are mythological; but they plainly prove that, neither in the minds of the Scythians or of the Greeks, was there any suspicion that the last were a colony of the former. And though the scene of the Scythian theogony be laid in the neighbourhood of the Borysthenes, (a circumstance which might at first induce us to suspect that the Scythians were more ancient in Europe than Herodotus will allow,) yet is it no unusual occurrence, that barbarous nations should transfer the fables which they are taught to revere, from one situation to another, as they themselves have altered their place of abode. The scene of the death of Adonis, at first, perhaps, celebrated on the Ganges, was laid successively in Phoenicia and Cyprus; and three different caves in Arcadia and Crete were assigned as each the only real cradle of the infant Jupiter. What wonder then that the story of Targitaus, the offspring of the water and the air, and his three sons, among whom the

<sup>1</sup> Γεγονεῖαι μεν τυν σφεας ὡδε λεγουσι οἱ Σκυθαἱ ετει δε σφι, επει τε γεγονασι, τα συμπατα λεγουσι είναι απο του πρωτου βασιληος Ταργιταου εξ την Δαρειου διαβασιν την επι σφεας, χιλιων ου πλεω, αλλα τοσαντα.—Herod. Melp. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. Melp. 8, 9, 10.

earth was divided, was affixed by the Scythians to whatever river the present generation was best acquainted with; and that this mythological corruption of Noah and his sons, which was at first applied to the Oxus, or Jaxartes, was afterwards fastened on a European stream? And as the antiquity of the Scythians in Asia is nothing to the present purpose, so it may be added, that neither Justin nor Diodorus ascribe to them an earlier settlement in Europe than that which Herodotus allows. It will be said, perhaps, that Herodotus contradicts himself, when he brings his Scythians into Europe at so late a date as he does in the present passage, since he had previously, in his second book, asserted that "Sesostris," (whose conquests are allowed by all to have preceded the birth of Ardys by many centuries,) "passing from Asia into Europe, subdued the Scythaæ and the Thracians<sup>1</sup>." I might urge, in answer to this objection, the frequent inaccuracy of historians, who call a country by the name it is best known by, whether at the period which they mention it had been received or no; and the example of Machiavelli, who speaks in his discourses of the conquest of Rome by *the French* during the Dictatorship of Furius Camillus<sup>2</sup>. The truth, however, is, that Herodotus, as may be seen by a careful examination of all the passages in which he speaks of Europe and Asia, reckoned as the boundary of the two continents, not the Tanais, but Caucasus, the Caspian, and the river Araxes, by which last he meant the Oxus; so that not only that which we now call European Scythia, but the country to the east of the Volga, and Turkestan itself, were included by him in the common name of Europe<sup>3</sup>; and that the Scythians may have inhabited these countries in very remote antiquity, I certainly will not deny; any more than that Sesostris (if his exploits be not imaginary) may have paid them a visit there. The same observations apply to the mention made by Homer

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. Euterpe. 103.

<sup>2</sup> "Furio Camillo, poi ch'egli ebbe liberato Roma dalla oppressione dei *Francesi*."—Discorsi. lib. i. cap. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus speaks expressly of the boundary of Asia to the north and north-east, as being the Caspian sea, and the river Araxes. Προς βορεω δε ἡ Κασπιη τε θαλασσα και ὁ Αραξης ποταμος, ῥεων προς ἡλιον ανισχοντα, Melpom. 40; and in the same section, Τουανη μεν και τοσανη ἡ Ασια εστι. And though he allows that some reckoned the Tanais as the boundary of Asia, yet he himself was plainly not of that opinion, since he calls Europe as long as Asia and Africa together; (§ 42.) and since he asserts in another place, (§ 45,) that no one knew either the northern or eastern boundary of Europe. Η δε Ευρωπη προς ουδεμιν φανερη εστι γινωσκομενη, ουτε τα προς ἡλιον ανατελλοντα, ουτε τα προς Βορην, ει περιφρυντος εστι· μηκει δε γινωσκεται παρ' αμφοτερας παρηκονσα.



and Hesiod of the Hippemolgi and Lactophagi, who, if they were not Scythians, were a race at least of similar habits, but whom the poets afford us no reason for fixing to the west of the Tanais. Jupiter, seated on Gargarus, with his back to Troy, and his face consequently northward, might behold at once the Thracians and Mysians to the north-west, and the Asiatic Sacæ at the north-eastern extremity of his horizon<sup>1</sup>; and Phineus might be carried by the Harpies to the neighbourhood of the Aral, as well as to the Don or Dnieper. Nor was it more difficult for Homer or Hesiod to obtain some scanty knowledge of these eastern tribes, than of the southern and equally distant Ethiopians.

XXIII.—The difference of manners between the Scythians and the western nations of Europe should not be omitted, as greatly increasing the improbability of any original connexion between them. For though similarity of manners be no decisive proof of a common origin, since all nations, under corresponding circumstances, are led to institutions nearly the same; yet so slowly do men unlearn the habits of their ancestors, that any great variety of customs, especially such as are connected with religious observances, is a strong argument the other way. Now it will be found that all the nations of Western Europe, whether Goths, Greeks, Germans, Celts, or Thracians, have agreed, from the rudest antiquity, in the reverence of certain divinities, which the learned researches of Sir William Jones have identified with those of Hindoostan. Indra, the Sanscrit god of the visible firmament, the husband of the earth, the bestower of rain, and wielder of the thunder-bolt, was, under the various names of Zeus, Diespiter, Thor, or Taranis, the supreme divinity of the most ancient tribes of Europe; while other and superior powers were worshipped with various ceremonies, and all of them under representations of the human form. Tabiti, or “Fire,” a su-

<sup>1</sup> Ζευς δέ επει ουν Τρωας τε και Ἐκτορα νησι τελασσε,  
Τους μεν εφ παρα τησ πονον τ' εχεμεν και οἰζυν  
Νωλεμεως αυτος δε παλιν τρεπεν οσσε φαειν,  
Νοσφιν εφ' ἵπποπολων Θρηκων καθορωμενος αιαν,  
Μυσων τ' αγχεμαχων, και αγανων Ἰππημολγων,  
Γλακτοφαγων, αβιων τε, δικαιοτατων ανθρωπων.

Iliad. N. 1.

The testimony of Hesiod, as quoted by Strabo and Eratosthenes from his lost poem, “concerning the circuit of the earth,” is to the same effect, but with the yet more appropriate feature of the Scythian tented waggon.

Γλακτοφαγων εις αιαν απηναις οικι' εχοντων.

perstition of very different origin, was the greatest of the Scythian deities<sup>1</sup>. To images of the Divinity in a human likeness, they appear to have been utterly strangers<sup>2</sup>. The sword only was honoured as an appropriate symbol of the god of war; and with so much intolerance did they regard the worship of their neighbours, that Anacharsis and King Scyles were put to death by their countrymen, the former by his own brother, for attempting to introduce, at different times, and with the greatest privacy, the adoration of the two favourite divinities of Greece and Thrace, the mother of the gods and Bacchus<sup>3</sup>. The use of moveable tents, or fixed habitations, is another difference equally striking and equally universal. The wildest inhabitants of Germany, and the earliest savages of whom we have any account in Thrace, were hunters indeed, but not scenites or nomades. The use of tents, the tented waggon more particularly, appears to have been, in early times, unknown; and even the warriors of Homer's poem were lodged in barracks of straw and wicker. Strabo, indeed, informs us, on the authority of some nameless historian of Athens, that the Pelasgi were, by the ancient Athenians, called Pelasgi, or Storks, from their frequent change of habitation<sup>4</sup>. But this rambling character, as is plain from the context, was not the peaceable migration of shepherds, nor carried on in the same vehicles, or on the same element; but the restless excursions of roving pirates, who cruized about from one island to another in circular canoes, resembling the Celtic coracle. Nor should it be forgotten that this account of Strabo is clogged with many difficulties, which evince that in matters of such remote antiquity, he was neither so diligent nor so cautious as Herodotus. The origin which he assigns to the Pelasgi, that, being a small tribe in Arcadia, they all turned soldiers, and gave their own name to whoever enlisted into their number, is in itself unlikely, and in complete opposition to the general concurrence of history, which points them out as among the earliest, doubtless, if not the original inhabitants of Greece, of the islands of Crete and Cyprus, and of a part of Italy. His account, however, of their beginning, vague as it may be, is little qualified to encourage the scheme which would drive them from Scythia; and the lucid statement of Herodotus is such as materially to increase this improbability.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. Melp. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Αγαλματα δε και βωμονς και νηονος ον νομιζουσι ποιεειν πλην Αρηι.—Melp. 59. Ακινακης σιδηρος ιδρυται αρχαιος έκαστοισι και τουτ' εστι του Αρηος το αγαλμα.—Melp. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Ξεινικοισι δε νομαιοισι και ούτοι αινως χρασθαι φευγονσι.—Melpomene 76.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, lib. v.

XXIV.—The population of Greece was, according to Herodotus, divided into two families, the Pelasgi and the Hellenes<sup>1</sup>. The first of these were what he calls a barbarous nation, who were the original occupants of the soil, and gave their name, in ancient days, to the whole country. The second spoke the language which yet bears their name, and in the time of King Deucalion were settled in the country of Phthiotis; afterwards, under Dorus, son of Hellen, (from whom they took the name of Dorians,) in the mountainous parts of Thessaly; and being expelled from this settlement by the Phœnicians, under Cadmus, they carried their name and language into Peloponnesus, which had been till then occupied by the Pelasgi, who, under the guidance of Apis, had first redeemed it from the wild beasts. The Dorians, or Hellenes, were thus the ancestors of the Spartans and other dominant nations of the peninsula, and always retained the same tongue which they brought with them from the Phthiotis. The Pelasgi, who took the name of Ionians on uniting with another body of Hellenes under Ion, son of Xuthus, acquired the language of their new allies, but considerably softened by an intermixture of their own; what this language was it is certainly, at the present day, impossible to determine, though the scale of probability would incline more to the Celtic than to the Scythian. From them the Athenians were descended.

I have thought it necessary to give this short sketch of the earliest population of Greece, as it is classed by Herodotus, and by all the other best authorities, except Strabo, to obviate the singular mistakes into which an author, for whose industry and candour I have the highest respect, has fallen, from a too great desire to reconcile Strabo with Herodotus, and from a too great reliance on his voluminous countryman, Dr. Gillies<sup>2</sup>. Had it been otherwise, he could not have supposed that it was the Pelasgic nation whose successive migrations Herodotus records, or have forgotten, what every school-boy knows, and what was under his eyes in the very passage which he misconstrues, that Dorus, from whom the Dorians took their name, was son of Hellen; and that the Albanians, who were the head of the Ionians, were of Pelasgic descent.

XXV.—Of these two nations Herodotus assures us that the Pelasgi were by no means addicted to wandering; and of the other, though he undoubtedly says that they had often changed their habitations, yet he nowhere implies that such migrations were, like those of the Scythians, the result of their domestic economy, or that they left a pasture when it was

<sup>1</sup> Clio, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Jamieson's *Hermes Scythicus*.

exhausted, to return to it next season. There is, in fact, a great difference between changing our country and changing our field; and the Tartars, who do the last four times in a year, would require a very strong inducement to do the former, or to forsake for ever those meadows to which they annually bid adieu. The territory and pasture-grounds of a horde of Calmuks are marked out and defended with as jealous care from the encroachments of their neighbours, as the borders of any agricultural or manufacturing nation; and the mere circumstance of changing their country, like the Dorians, as described by Herodotus, when chased from it by foreign force, or lured by the hope of foreign advantage, is no more characteristic of a Scythian than of a Scotsman. The change of residence which induced Herodotus to give the name of wandering to the Hellenes, appears, on examination, to have occurred only five times in half as many centuries, which is no great matter in the progress of a colony. Above all, however, the specification of the different places at which they successively dwelt in an extent of country, the whole of which would have been depastured and rambled over by the Golden Horde in one season, is a clear evidence, that far from being nomades, they were stationary residents within the scanty bounds of whatever canton they colonized.

XXVI.—In language (a yet stronger circumstance in proving or disproving an identity of race) it will not be easy to prove that either the Pelasgi or Hellenes retained any traces of a Scythian dialect. As of the language spoken by the former, we are utterly ignorant, the systematist has, indeed, a wild scope for conjecture; but on a comparison of the Greek with the scanty specimen of Scythian words which Herodotus affords us, even the most skilful etymologist will find but little chance of establishing a relationship<sup>1</sup>. The same observation will apply to the Gothic dialects;

<sup>1</sup> The following are such Scythian words as Herodotus has given us, disfigured, no doubt, by Greek spelling.

- Tabiti . . . Vesta, or Fire.
- Papaios . . . Jupiter, Heaven, perhaps the air or wind.
- Apia . . . the Earth.
- Oitosuros . Apollo, the sun.
- Arippasa . Venus Urania.
- Thamisadas . Neptune, or the sea.
- Arima . . . One.
- Spou . . . An eye.
- Oior . . . A man.
- Pata . . . To kill.



and if the Scythian was originally connected with any of them, it can only be said that its words and names are so far disfigured by spelling or pronunciation, that no traces can now be found of their original character. It is urged, however, on the authority of Diodorus, that the Hyperborean dialect approached to that of Delos<sup>1</sup>, and a witticism of Anacharsis is quoted to prove that all the Greeks spoke Scythian<sup>2</sup>. It may, therefore, be worth while to examine how far these testimonies will bear up the hypothesis to the aid of which they are called in. Now as to the Hyperboreans it may be doubted, perhaps, by what species of inspiration Diodorus could so positively pronounce on their language and their intercourse with the Delians, so many centuries after that intercourse had altogether ceased; when all which Herodotus, 300 years before, could learn from the Delians themselves, amounted to so little. Twice only, at distant intervals, and in very remote antiquity, certain male and female pilgrims had arrived, they said, at their shrine from an unknown country in the North, whose names and nation had been afterwards celebrated by Olen, a Lycian poet<sup>3</sup>. Afterwards certain offerings, packed in straw, had been forwarded from the same quarter, which the Delians, however, could only trace as far as the tribes bordering on the Adriatic, and which Herodotus seems shrewdly to suspect, were the workmanship of some devotees among the neighbouring Thracians<sup>4</sup>. The men of Delos, however, were willing to suppose them to be the produce of a fortunate country seated beyond the north wind, whence Hercules had brought the first olive trees into Greece, and whence

Hexampaios, the name of the place which Herodotus translates "the sacred way."

Targitaus . . .	}	
Leipoxais . . .		Mythological personages, apparently corrupted from the history of Noah
Arpoxais . . .		and his three sons.

Kolaxais . . .

"Coraci," the "friendly ones;" a name given to Orestes and Pylades in Lucian's *Toxaris*, belongs, I apprehend, not to the Scythian, but Tauro-Celtic dialect.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. Bibl. Græc. l. ii. c. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Clemen. *Alexandrinus Stromata*, lib. i. p. 225. Ed. Lugd. 1616.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias lays the scene of this Scythian pilgrimage at Delphos, and makes Olen, not a Lycian, who sung of the Hyperboreans, but a Hyperborean himself. Thus vague were all the accounts of this people, of whom Diodorus affects to know the language. (Pausan. l. x. Phocie. pp. 809-810.)

<sup>4</sup> Οίδα δε αυτος τοντοισι ἴροισι τοδε ποιευμενον προσφερεις· τας Θρησσας και τας Παιονιδας γυναικας, επεαν θυσσι τη Αρτεμιδι τη βασιληή, ουκ αινεν πυρων καλαμης θυουσας τα ἵρα, και ταντα μεν δη οίδα ταντας ποιευσας.—Melpom. 33.



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DIX.— a certain Abaris had journeyed, neither eating nor drinking all the way, and riding through the air on an arrow. It is surely loss of time to enlarge any further on tales of which Herodotus was ashamed; and it is sufficient to observe that, according to his authentic testimony, *no tidings of these Hyperboreans or their offerings were to be learnt from any of the Scythian nations*<sup>1</sup>. Whatever then the degree of credit which is given to their Grecian dialect and Grecian superstition, the Scythians at least had no concern in either; and since the course by which their offerings came to Delos implied a western origin, since Diodorus places their *island* in the neighbourhood of Gaul, and since there are so many Celtic antiquarians who would gladly lay claim to the praises of Olen and Bovo, it is strange perverseness to bind their wreath around the unconscious or unwilling brows of a nation, which, in behalf of itself and its neighbours, disclaimed all title to the honour.

XXVII.—The expression of Anacharsis is, if possible, still less to the purpose. All its point, and all the point of the manner in which it is applied by Clemens Alexandrinus, consists in the Greeks and Scythians being alike unintelligible to each other. Clemens is reproving the vanity of his own nation, who despised all other tongues as barbarous, and he thus reminds them that foreigners had as good a right to despise Greek, as the Greeks had to despise the language of foreigners. “To me,” said Anacharsis, “all the Greeks speak Scythian.” Scythian, it should be observed, was not the native name by which the countrymen of Anacharsis distinguished themselves, but was given them by their neighbours in the same manner as the Cwmraeg are called Welch, and the Osmenli Turks. Anacharsis, therefore, whom attic levity had probably derided for his Scythian jargon, at once in his answer disavows the name of Scythian, and retorts the charge of barbarism on his hosts. “If by Scythian,” is his reply, “you signify an unintelligible language, you yourselves are as much Scythians to me as I am to you.” The discovery, then, that the Scythians spoke Greek, is to be imputed neither to Anacharsis nor Clemens, but is entirely, for all that we have yet seen, the property of certain modern antiquarians. Of the Thracian tongue, as we know little or nothing, it is impossible to say what it resembled; but that the Getæ (who were a

<sup>1</sup> Υπερβορεων δε περι αυθωπων ουτε τι Σκυθαι λεγουσι, ουτε τινες αλλοι των ταυτη οικημενων, ει μη αρι Ιστηδονες. ως δ' εγω δοκεω, ουδ' οντοι λεγουσιν ουδεν ελεγον γαρ αυ και Σκυθαι ως περι των μουνοφθαλμων λεγουσι.—Melpom. 32.



Thracian tribe) spoke a different language from the Sarmatians (who were, as will hereafter be shown, a kindred race with the Scythians) is proved from the testimony and experience of Ovid, who sojourned in their country and learnt the language of each nation<sup>1</sup>.

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**XXVIII.**—In their weapons and manner of fighting, the nations of whom I have been speaking showed the same remarkable discrepancy from the characteristics of Scythian warfare. The defensive arms of ancient Greece, and of the wealthier Thracian and Gothic tribes, consisted in massive helmets, greaves, and breast-plates, all of copper or strong leather. They were all alike distinguished from the Scythians and Sarmatians by their heavy and ample bucklers, which their wandering neighbours seldom if ever wore, by the use of long pikes pointed with copper, and short straight swords of the same material. Horsemanship was originally so rare an accomplishment among them, that its introduction gave rise to the fable of the Centaurs; and so late as the siege of Troy, the horse was never used in battle, except harnessed to a chariot, a custom which, though it prevailed with all the tribes with whom we are acquainted west of the Dniester, is never noticed among the wanderers to the east of that river<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> “Didici Getice, Sarmaticeque loqui.”

<sup>2</sup> The armour of the Greeks is well-known. The Thracians are described by Plutarch as “of lofty stature, with white and shining shields of the largest size, with greaves of the same, and shaking their heavy pikes, which they carried erect on the right shoulder.”—Ανδρες ἵψηλοι τα σωματα, κ. τ. λ.—Plutarch. *Æmilius Paulus.*

Of the northern nations Tacitus says “Harum omnium gentium insigne, rotunda scuta, breves gladii. (De mor. Germanorum.)” The use of the shield Tacitus regards as decisive proof that the Venedi were not Sarmatians. (*Ibid.*) Among the Greeks and Thracians of Homer’s time, the use of the chariot in war is known to have been universal. Even so late as the time of Herodotus it was used by the Sigunna, a warlike nation in Pannonia (*Terpsichore q.*) and in much later times by the Britons and northern nations. To the Scythians, if we believe the descriptions given us, it was unknown. Mr. Pinkerton, indeed, assures us that Philip in his war with the Scythians, took a vast number of war chariots; and cites the authorities of Strabo and Justin. But, in the first place, it does not appear that either Philip or Alexander ever advanced so far as the Scythians, their war extending only to the Thracians, Getæ, and Tribulli; and secondly, those who are not acquainted with Mr. Pinkerton’s peculiar accuracy, will scarcely perhaps believe, what is, nevertheless, the fact, that the authors to whom he refers, say not a single word of these chariots!—(See Pinkerton’s disser. on the Goths, p. 70.) We are apt, according to the present system of war, to consider these chariots as only a martial incumbrance, nor is it easy to conceive how they can ever have been really serviceable. Yet Cæsar, (no bad authority on military subjects,) speaks of them in high terms of praise, when he says, “*Mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum, in præliis præstant.*” (*Bell. Gall. l. iv. § 29.*) But the national and most familiar manner of ranging an army, among all the western Europeans, was



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The bow was rarely employed and regarded by the boldest warriors with a

the phalanx, or a deep and solid column of infantry, of all other forms the least adapted to Scythian habits of warfare. Thus the Greeks, in the Trojan war, advance to battle.

Ασπις αρ' ασπιδ' ερειδε, κορυς κορυν, ανερα δ' αγηρ'  
 Ψανον δ' ιπποκομοι κορυθες λαμπροισι φαλοισι  
 Νευοντων· ως πυκνοι εφεστασαν αλληλοισιν.

Iliad. N. 131.

An iron scene gleams dreadful o'er the fields,  
 Armour in armour lock'd, and shields in shields ;  
 Spears lean on spears, on targets targets throng,  
 Helms stuck to helms, and man drove man along.<sup>1</sup>

POPE.

In like manner the Illyrians under their old king Bardyllis, in the battle with Philip of Macedon, advanced in the form of battle called Plinthion. And the Germans, according, to Cæsar, “ *Ex consuetudine suâ, phalange facta, impetus gladiorum exceperunt.*” (Bell. Gall. i. § 41.) The contempt expressed by the ancient Greeks for the bow is proved by the expressions of Diomede to Paris.

Τοξοτα, λωβητηρ, κερα αγλαε, παρθενοπιπα,  
 Ει μεν δη αυτιβιον συν τευχεσι πειρηθειης,  
 Ουκ αν τοι χραισμησι βιος και ταρφεες ιοι·  
 Νυν δε, μ' επιγραψας ταρσον ποδος, ευχεαι αιντως,  
 Ουκ αλεγω, ως ει με γυνη βαλοι, η παις αφρων·  
 Κουφον γαρ βελος ανδρος αναλκιδος οντιδανοιο.

Iliad. λ. 385.

Vain archer ! trusting to the distant dart,  
 Unskilled in arms to act a manly part !  
 Thou hast but done what boys or women can,  
 Such hands may wound, but not incense a man !

POPE.

And Menelaus, in the Ajax of Sophocles (line 1120) treats the art of Teucer with equal contempt.

ο τοξοτης εοικεν ου σμικρα φρονειν.

It is remarkable, indeed, that among the Greek nobles, Teucer and Philoctetes only are recorded as archers ; and on the Trojan side, only Paris and Pandarus. Nor are any of the troops thus armed, except the Pæonians on the Trojan side, and the troops of Philoctetes (350 men) on the other (Iliad. B. 720. 848.) Nor did the Scythian bow resemble that of the Greek in shape. “ *Cum arcus omnium gentium flexis curventur hostilibus, Scythici soli vel Parthici circumductis utrimque introrsus pandis et patulis cornibus, effigiem Lunæ decrescentis ostendunt, medietatem recta et rotunda regula dividente,*” (Ammian. Marcell, lib. xxii. c. viii.)

contempt, from which not even the example of Hercules could redeem it ; and the main strength of all their armies consisted in a close and weighty column of infantry. How greatly does this picture differ from the pliant habergeon, the feigned retreat, the sudden rally, the crooked iron scymitar<sup>1</sup>, and the bow and poisoned arrows of the light armed cavalier of Scythia. Against this general want of likeness it will surely not be urged as a material exception that the Getæ, a Thracian tribe adjoining the Scythians, and inhabiting like them a country of open plains, had in part adopted their manner of fighting ; or that the Getæ must have been Scythians, though differing from them both in religion and language, because they were armed with bows and arrows, and went to war on horseback<sup>2</sup>.

XXIX.—“ But the Getæ,” we are told, “ are proved by incontrovertible evidence to have been the same people with the Scythians<sup>3</sup> ;” and this evidence will be found to resolve itself into their vicinity of situation, their similarity of weapons and their name. Now the second of these circumstances may, as we have seen, be fairly accounted for by the first ; and how far the first is to prevail against the opinion of Herodotus, may be left to the verdict of even a Gothic jury. The argument drawn from their name, if I understand it rightly, is as follows : we find on the banks of the Dniester the Tyri Getæ, or, as Herodotus calls them, Tyritæ ; the Thyssagetae, a tribe east of the Volga ; and the Massagetae, a mighty and numerous people in the neighbourhood of the Abtaian mountains. “ And it is obvious that Getæ must have been the primary denomination.” But all these were Scythians, and the Scythians and Getæ are therefore, according to these learned persons, identified. It is singular that in this chain of argument there is not a single link which is not defective, either in the fact itself, or in the inference drawn from it. Of the three nations mentioned, the Tyritæ and Thyssagetae are, by the positive testimony of Herodotus, decided not to have been Scythian ; the first being a colony of Greeks<sup>4</sup>, the second, “ *a large or numerous and peculiar people*<sup>5</sup>,” and the Massagetae, though often confounded by the Greeks under the common name of Scythians, (a term as vaguely and improperly applied to all wandering

<sup>1</sup> Iron, not copper, was used by the Scythians in their various implements, “ αργυρῷ δε οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρεωνται.” Melp. 71. Their swords are always called “ ακινάκεις.” See Herodotus, passim.

<sup>2</sup> Jamieson, *Hermes Scythicus*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐλληνες οἱ Τυριται καλεονται.—Melp. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Θυσσαγεται, εθνος πολλον και τειον.—Ibid. 22.

tribes as Tartar is at present) are distinguished from them by Herodotus as using copper for their weapons instead of iron ; as fighting on foot with pikes as well as on horseback ; by a greater profligacy of manners ; and by the deadly feud which existed between them and the Scythians, and which first compelled the latter to take refuge in Europe<sup>1</sup>. Whatever, then, the connexion between the Massagetae and Getæ, this will not prove the latter to have been Scythians ; and it must be owned that the distinctive features ascribed to the Massagetae, resemble the nations of Northern Europe much more than any which are recorded of the Scythian wanderers. But, in truth, the mere circumstances of a correspondence between one name, and the two last syllables of another, is by far too slight a circumstance to induce us to believe in the affinity of nations so widely separated as Thrace and Turkestan. Of the Massagetic language, it should be remembered, we know not a single syllable ; and if a Chinese antiquarian should discover in some corner of Eastern Tartary a tribe named Ish, he would be hardly justified, I apprehend, in identifying them with the nations of Europe ; or inferring, from the knowledge of a few names in our language, that Ish was the “primary denomination of all,” and that English, Scottish, Irish, were only modifications of it. Besides, if Strahlenburgh’s derivation of Massagetae from *Matchudi* be correct (and it has at least the merit, which none of the others have, of being founded on a Tartar etymology) it is plain that the controversy is at an end so far as either Goths or Getæ are concerned, since *Tchudi* is now, and always has been, the oriental name for the *Finns* ; and that the Getæ were of this last race will hardly, I think, be suspected. If, however, it can be shown that we have no good reason to consider the Getæ as Scythians, I may well be excused the labour of proving that they were not Massagetae.

XXX.—The testimonies of the ancients, which are alleged to prove the Scythian descent of the Greeks, resolve themselves, I apprehend, into that of Lucian<sup>2</sup>, who calls Deucalion a Scythian ; the epithet, Scythiadis, given by the poets to Delos ; and the opinion mentioned, but apparently not adopted by Strabo, that the<sup>3</sup> Caucones, who had in very early times colonized parts of Greece, were of Scythian extraction. What weight is in this instance to be given to the authority of Lucian, will appear from a reference to his Toxaris, in which he applies so vaguely the name of Scythian to the Tauri or Celtic worshippers of Diana, and the Sauromatae, whom Mr. Pinkerton and his followers will certainly not allow to have

<sup>1</sup> Herod. Clio. 215. Melp. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian. de Dea Syria.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo. l. xi.



deserved the title, that, it is plain, by the word Scythian he only meant a person of northern descent, and what the Greeks called a barbarian. The epithet of Scythiadis was given to Delos by the poets, whose accuracy in points like these is very seldom to be relied on ; and it might be given either because that shrine was frequented and honoured by the Hyperboreans, or because the Scythian Apollo was worshipped there. The Hyperboreans have been already proved not to be Scythians ; and Apollo received this title, either from the Hyperboreans who were his favourite race, or because he was the patron of archery. But, admitting for a moment that Delos derived the name of Scythiadis from any original connection or continued intercourse with the Scythians, its bearing this name *in distinction* from the rest of Greece, would be at least a strong presumption that the neighbouring regions had no tradition of the kind as to their own origin. The truth however is, that Delos received the name of Scythiadis from the well-known fable of the island having *wandered* many years about the sea, till it was fixed as an asylum for Latona. The passage in Strabo proves that there was the greatest uncertainty respecting the origin of the Caucones, "some reckoning them Scythians, some Macedonians, and some Pelasgi." The manner in which these names are mentioned, is at least a proof that the Greeks had no idea that the Macedonians or Pelasgi were Scythians ; and that the Caucones were so is doubtless a most improbable conjecture, if we consider their situation, or their previous history. Their first known residence was in the south-west angle of Asia Minor ; they spoke the same language with their neighbours the Carians, and they came, according to their own tradition, preserved by Herodotus, not from Scythia, but from Crete. Herodotus, indeed, did not believe this tradition ; but though he was better acquainted with the Scythian tribes than any writer since his time has been, and though he was the near neighbour of the Caucones, it does not appear to have occurred to him as possible, that these subjects of Minos drew their pedigree from the nations north of the Araxes. To prove the Thracians Scythæ, no ancient authority is adduced ; and all the testimonies which support this hypothesis as to any of the neighbouring nations, are the eleventh ode of the second book of Horace, which Mr. Pinkerton applies to the Illyrians ; and a passage in Pliny, wherein he classes the Getæ among the Scythian tribes. But the first of these alludes, beyond a doubt, not to the Illyrians, but to the inroad of the Sarmatians and other wandering people, who had associated themselves with the Getæ and Daci, and at that time threatened Pannonia ; and the geographical

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nomenclature of the Latin poets is too vague to serve as basis for a serious argument. The passage of Pliny if it prove any thing, will, in the opinion of Mr. Pinkerton, prove too much, since what he says of the Getæ he says also of the Sarmatæ. But what, after all, is the value of authorities like these against the opinion of one who, like Herodotus, had sojourned in the land and caroused with the people whom he describes, and who lived at a time when, if any tradition of a Scythian descent had ever prevailed either among the Greeks, Thracians, or Getæ, it was surely more likely to be remembered than 500 years afterwards, when, as shall hereafter be shown, the Scythians had no longer any national existence.

XXXI.—The Goths, however, it is in vain to deny, are repeatedly called Scythians by the Byzantine historians; and their origin, as well as that of the Vandals, is deduced by their own writers and by those of Greece, at some uncertain epoch, from the eastern shores of the Palus Mæotis. These opinions are very far from being identical, inasmuch as the country beyond the Tanais was at no time, within the range of history, peopled by Scythians, except during their progress from the Araxes; and that the Goths are of *Sarmatian descent*, has never, I believe, been pretended. And by those learned men who speak of the Goths as Scythians, something more is meant, I apprehend, than that they have, at some unknown period, inhabited Southern Russia; a character which has, at different times, applied equally to so many different communities—to Celts, Greeks, Huns, Romans, Calmuks, Turks, Sarmatians, not to mention Jews and the Pontic followers of Mithridates. It is certainly possible that some of the many nations who have sojourned in Scythia, or in the neighbourhood of Caucasus, may have sent out colonies into Europe which have escaped the notice of historians; but the same reasons which militate against the descent of the Greeks and Thracians from the north-eastern tribes, must militate also against the same hypothesis as applied to the Goths or Germans, since the analogy of language and manners so strongly points out a different connexion, and since neither the Celts first, nor after them the Scythians and Sarmatians, were tribes of such a yielding character, as to suffer strangers to pass through their land, unless they had themselves been first subdued or extirpated. Perhaps, indeed, it may be found that neither the name of Scythian, as applied by the Byzantine authors, nor the traditional account of their origin, are circumstances of any great weight in deciding the question.—We shall discover, in the course of this work, that the eastern neighbours of the Scythians, at a date not greatly preceding the

Christian æra, had so completely overthrown this latter people, as to efface them from the list of nations; so that their name was only known in history, or as it was still preserved, in obscurity and dependance, by a few remote and scattered tribes. Of this Strabo positively informs us<sup>1</sup>; and this is what has occasioned an expression in Pliny, which Mr. Pinkerton misunderstands, “that the whole name of Scythians had passed away, or been amalgamated with those of the Germans and Sarmatians.” The name, nevertheless, was still applied by both Greeks and Romans to whatever succeeding tribes occupied, in their turn, the plains where the Scythian once drove his waggon; and not the Goths only, but the Sarmatians, the Huns, the Patzinacitæ, and the Avars, are called Scythians in the Byzantine histories, in the same manner as the Gothic tribes of England and Scotland have inherited from their Celtic predecessors the name of Britons; as the Franks are often called Gauls; and as the descendants of Alaric have taken in Spain the name of Spaniards. We find, accordingly, that the Goths were only then styled Scythians, when they were in possession of the Crimea and the Ukraine, and when they poured forth their warlike youths, with short swords and circular bucklers, to ravage the Roman provinces contiguous to the Danube. When they are mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy under the name of Guthones, in their ancient habitations adjoining the Baltic, not a hint is dropt of their resemblance to, or kindred with the Scythians; and the accurate Tacitus, so far from deducing the Germans from the east, was reduced, in failure of a clearer origin, to suppose them the indigenous growth of the country where they then resided. The mere name, then, of Scythian either proves nothing at all, or proves too much, since there is hardly any nation of Asia to which it has not been thus applied; and the observations of the ablest and earliest writer who has described the Gothic nations in their own country, give no colour at all to their having any more definite property in the title.

XXXII.—In like manner, the authorities so often cited of Stephanus and Georgius Syncellus; the first defining the Goths as “a nation first inhabiting the country within the Palus Maeotis, and afterwards migrating into Thrace<sup>1</sup>;” the second calling them “the Scythians who are also Goths,” are both very little to the present purpose, since both refer only to that time in which they really occupied European Scythia, and when they, to the great misfortune of the Byzantine empire, extended their ravages

<sup>1</sup> Strabo. l. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Stephan. de Urbib. voc. Τορθοι. Georgius Syncellus, p. 376.



and authority over the greater part of Thrace. But succeeding enquirers, misled by the famous legend of Odin, have applied to a remote antiquity those passages in which the Greeks described the events passing under their own eyes, and have discovered the first population of Germany and Scandinavia, nay, of Dacia, Thrace, and Hellas itself, in the passage of the Ister by King Cniva, three centuries after Christ. The legend of Odin, his flight before the arms of Pompey, and his fortunate progress from Azoph to Scandinavia, is in itself utterly improbable, as it is evident that the Goths of Germany had been established in their present habitations at a date so far anterior to that here assigned, that Tacitus considered them to be indigenous. Now while the Germans were thus forgetful of their original country, we cannot believe that the Swedes, more remote and less civilized, should have preserved a tradition so circumstantial. These traditions, then, are in themselves unworthy of notice, while the Byzantine authorities, however accurate, are irrelevant to the subject under discussion. The only important testimony I know, which, though it would not account for the origin of the Goths in Europe, would at least throw a new light on the recruits they received from other quarters, is that of Procopius, where he adds, "that the Vandals, a race bordering on the Palus Maeotis, being prest with hunger, went over to the Franks, or Germans, on the river Rhine, having first made an alliance with the Alani, a Gothic nation<sup>1</sup>". But an event of this sort could not have taken place without our hearing of it from other quarters besides Procopius; and after an attentive review of the circumstances, I cannot but suspect that the Palus Maeotis is a mistake for the marshes of Prussia, and that by the Alani, Procopius means the Alemanni. Sure we are, from the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, that the *Alani* had not left their eastern homes before the arrival of the Huns in the fourth century; and that the Vandals were already in Germany, so long before the time of Tacitus, as to be included among the descendants of the patriarch *Mannus*.

XXXIII.—We must therefore, I apprehend, abandon as untenable the hypothesis which derives so many stationary nations of Western Europe from the wandering tribes of Scythia. But it is so far only as this imputed origin goes, that I differ from their opinion who deduce from a remote but common source, the various families agreeing in the use of, what Adelung calls, the Indo-European language; from which, blended with Celtic, the dialects of Southern as well as Northern Europe are apparently

<sup>1</sup> Procopius de Bello Vandal, lib. i. c. 3, p. 182.

deducible. To trace its progress from the east with any degree of certainty, may baffle, perhaps, the efforts of sober enquiry; inasmuch as that frontier of Europe has undergone so many revolutions, that I know not how we are at this distance of time to ascertain what was the ancient language of Thrace or Dacia; and must, consequently, remain in the dark as to one most material link of the chain which unites Europe to Persia and Hindoostan. But it is known, from undoubted authority that, from Armenia westward to the Bosphorus the whole of Asia Minor was occupied by tribes agreeing with the Thracians in language, manners, and religion<sup>1</sup>. And as we know the relationship between the Germans and inhabitants of Iran; between the Goths and the Greeks; it is surely more natural to look

<sup>1</sup> Strabo enumerates the Mysians, Phrygians, Mygdonians, Beboyces, Medo-Bythynians, Lycians, Bythynians, Thynians, and Mariandyne, as Thracian tribes resident in Asia. To these may be added, on the authority of Herodotus, (Clio. 171.) the Lydians and Carians, who were a kindred race to the Mysians; and on that of Eusthasius, the Paeones, Cicones, and, perhaps, the Paphlagonians. Well might Herodotus say, that the Thracians were the most numerous of all nations but the Indians! Some of these tribes, indeed, are supposed by Strabo to have emigrated from Europe into Asia. And such retrograde movements are common in history. But there were others, such as the Carians, Lydians, and Mysians, whom Herodotus reckons Antochthones, in Asia. Others, such as the Veneti, Curetes, and Tyrrheni, are known to have passed from Asia into Europe; and it would be as contrary to the analogy of history to assert, that Asia Minor was peopled from the west, because some few western colonies were founded there, as that Gaul was peopled from Britain, because some British fugitives established themselves in Armorica. Yet this is the opinion maintained by those learned Goths, whose opinions I am now examining; and who absolutely take it for granted, that all these tribes were Scythians, because they were Thracians, having first taken for granted that the Thracians themselves were so; and omitting, secondly, to reflect, that it was more natural to derive the Thracians from the Asiatics, than the Asiatics from them.

As for the Lycians, whom one of the ablest of the defenders of the Scythian hypothesis, boldly claims, together with their poet Olen, as belonging to his favourite nation, on the grounds of their being a kindred people to the Carians, it is remarkable that Strabo, whom he cites, asserts nothing whatever, either about their origin or their relationship to the Carians; and that Herodotus not only believed them to have proceeded originally from Crete; but actually gives an account of the causes which induced them to emigrate. (Clio. 172.) I am, however, on a comparison with Strabo and Herodotus, inclined to suspect that the reason why so many nations of Asia Minor were supposed to have passed thither from Crete, was, because they were descended from the Curetes, who though they colonized Crete were of Phrygian origin, and may therefore have established themselves in many parts of Asia, not after, but before their voyage to the islands. The return of the Lycians, however, from Crete to Asia, is too positively told to admit of any doubt. That they were originally from the same stock with the Carians, though I think it highly probable, yet I certainly do not find asserted in Strabo.



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for their connecting tribes in Thrace and Asia, than to conduct the ancient Hellenic and Teutonic population through the passes of Caucasus, and the trackless desert of Astrachan ; a country which, far from being the best and most familiarly known to antiquity (as might have been reasonably supposed, had it been the channel of their first communication with Europe) was regarded by Homer as the land of darkness and departed souls, and was only first explored, if we believe the common voice of poetry and tradition, by Jason and his Argonauts. If the ancient language, then, of Thrace and Phrygia were known, we might expect to find it so much less removed from the classical languages than the Gothic, as it was nearer in respect of time and situation. And such a language, partaking of Gothic, Greek, and Latin, but in its construction approaching nearest of any to the second of these, exists, as shall be hereafter shown, in a part of Thrace at the present day ; and may be proved to have existed from remote antiquity, if not in Thrace itself, yet in the countries immediately adjoining.

XXXIV.—It is doubtless not impossible that, while the north of Persia was pouring out its swarms on one side into Asia Minor and Europe, similar colonies may have advanced from this common centre to the north and east ; and that some words of identical meaning may be found, on enquiry, in the language of the Turks and Western Tartars, and the inhabitants of Europe. But that these last owed their origin to any tribes of Northern Asia, we have not therefore any reason to suppose ; and the thin scattering of military and religious phrases which answer to this description in the Tartar dialects, are more naturally derivable from intercourse than parentage. And no words of this kind occur in the scanty specimens of Scythian which we possess.

XXXV.—Who the Scythians were, or with what family of Northern Asia they were connected, is however a much less easy thing to prove, than to decide who they were not. Their adoration of fire and the scymitar connects them with many tribes both of Turkish and Hunnish descent ; and the same reverence is paid to their weapons at the present day by certain of the wandering Finns<sup>1</sup>. They cannot, however, have been

<sup>1</sup> The worship of fire they appear to have brought with them from the neighbourhood of Bactria. Their reverence for the scymitar, and their custom of swearing by it (see Lucian's *Toxaris*,) they had in common with the Sarmatians (Amm. Marcell. xvii. 13.) and the Huns and Alani (Idem. xxxi. 2.) The Chagan of the Avars, when accused of violating the Roman frontier on the river Saave, swore by his sword. Τοὺς Αβαρικοὺς ωμνευ ὄρκους ξίφος σπασα-

Huns or Mongolians, since the peculiarity of the Calmuk countenance was unknown to the ancients, whether Greeks or Persians, before the time of Attila. With some of the Turkish tribes, their tents on wheels; their art of preparing a fermented liquor from mares' milk; the form of their bows, and their crooked scymitars, appear very strongly to identify them. The little, however, that we know of their language, which differs as much from the Tartar as the Gothic or Greek, induces me rather to believe that they were a race of Finns, to which the colour of their hair would also persuade me<sup>1</sup>. If so, the Hungarians, not the Greeks, are their modern representatives in the south of Europe. But where knowledge cannot be obtained, it is better to avow ignorance, than to waste time and labour in conjecture.

XXXVI.—The name of Scytha, or Scythian, was unknown to the people themselves, to whom it was applied by other nations, and is probably no other than the Celtic “Scuyth<sup>2</sup>,” *a wanderer*, which the Cimmerians would naturally affix to their roving enemies; though it may be also noticed that Tchudi (the oriental name of the Finns) approaches more nearly to Σκυθαί than any other national appellation which we know: their native appellation, however, was Scolot, and they had themselves been expelled from their ancient habitation on the banks of the Araxes by some more eastern tribes of Massagetae<sup>3</sup>. This is the result of the enquiries made by

μενος, και ἐπαρασαμενος ἔαντῳ τε και τῷ Αβαρων εὗνε παντοιως ει κατα Ρωμαιους τι μηχανωμενος γεφυρουν τον Σαον, ὑπὸ ξιφος μεν αυτος και το Αβαρικον ἀπαν αγαλωθει φυλον.—Menander. Eclog. Legat. p. 106.

The Pagan Finns, many of them, still worship their spears and hatchets. (See Lindenbrog's note on Ammianus Marcellinus, ubi supra.)

<sup>1</sup> The colour of the Scythian's hair is no where, that I know of, mentioned; but the Alani and Sarmatians, kindred tribes, had yellow hair. (For the first see Ammi. Marcell. xxxi. 2.) The second nation are called 'Flavi,' by Claudian, in his Fescennine verses on the marriage of Honorius and Maria.

Dices ô quoties, Hoc mihi dulciss  
Quam flavos decies vincere Sarmatas !

The young emperor, it seems, had rather give one kiss than gain ten victories; on the other hand, Regner Lodbrog, in his death-song, likens (according to most interpreters,) the “certaminis gaudia” to the “kissing a young widow on the highest seat at a banquet.” My friend, the Hon. W. Herbert, has, however, given a different meaning to this strange comparison, and one which makes Honorious and Regner more of one mind. (Herbert's Select. Icelandic Poetry, p. 117.)

<sup>2</sup> Συμπασι δε ειναι ονυμα Σκολοτους—Σκυθας δε 'Ελληνες ονυμασαν.

<sup>3</sup> Melp. 11.



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Herodotus himself; and it coincides, in all essential points, with the account of Aristeas of Proconnesus, who had visited the country, and advanced even so far as the remote Issedones, to whose inroad, impelled in their turn by the yet more formidable Arimaspi, he ascribed the emigration of the Scoloti westward into Europe. An unsuccessful war, indeed, has, among the barbarous tribes of Northern Asia, been almost always followed by the expatriation of the weaker party. Those whose wealth and gods and habitations are alike portable and comprised within the circle of an encampment, have no adequate motive to remain in the neighbourhood of a victorious and insulting enemy ; the impulse once begun is communicated from one tribe to another, so long as the retreating nations fall on hordes still weaker than themselves ; and it has often happened that the storms arising at either extremity of this great sea of land, have been felt to vibrate through its whole extent from Kief to the Altai. Nor is the testimony of Aristeas to be despised, though he may seem, by the account Herodotus obtained of him, to have been a religious impostor, or a crazy enthusiast. For though their miraculous stories are, undoubtedly, to be received with caution, there is no reason, where they have no interest in deception, to reject the testimony of such wanderers as these, who, regardless of misery and insult, and secured from danger by the superstition or pity of the fiercest savages, afford often the only sources of information respecting remote and barbarous countries. Lamas and Santons ramble securely where merchants and philosophers perish ; and the sanctity of madness, more than that of poetry, would enable Aristeas to realize the boast of Horace <sup>1</sup>.

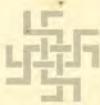
XXXVII.—It is apparent, however, on a comparison between the accounts of Herodotus and Aristeas, and still more on attending to the circumstances detailed by the first concerning the emigrations of the Scoloti, that when he places their original seat on the banks of the Araxes, he does not mean the Armenian river of that name, but some one of the

<sup>1</sup> Visam Britannos hospitibus feros,  
Et lætum equino sanguine Concænum :  
Visam pharetratos Gelonos,  
Et Scythicum inviolatus amnem.

Aristeas pretended to have followed Apollo in the shape of a raven. His testimony, as to what he knew himself, in no material respect contradicts that of Herodotus ; since the Issedones, no less than the Massagetæ, may have had wars with the Scythians, and would, no doubt, boast of having driven them westward.

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mighty floods of Eastern Tartary, and most probably the Oxus or Jaxartes. For, if their previous habitation had been, as the usual interpretation of the passage requires, to the southward of what is now called the Araxes, and in the province of Ghaban, the Massagetæ, or Issedones—tribes seated to the north-east of the Caspian, could by no means have driven them across the river in the direction of Scythia, unless they had first made a way to them through the whole of Media, an event of which history makes no mention, and which is in itself highly improbable. And, if this mighty army of emigrants had advanced against the Cimmerians from the side of Caucasus, it is absurd to suppose that these last would fly before them in the exact direction which was likely to bring them together; or that the Scythians, on finding their enemy gone, would return to seek him by the very way which they had themselves so lately traversed, and along which they had been pursued by the tremendous Massagetæ. It is, above all, incredible, that if they were a Caucasian or Armenian race, they should have lost their way, as Herodotus assures us they did, amid their own native mountains, or on that Median frontier which must have been previously familiar by frequent and mutual forays. It is apparent, indeed, from all the circumstances of the description of the Araxes by Herodotus; its mighty size; its numerous islands; the uncertainty which prevailed whether it fell into the Caspian Sea, or into a distinct lake, that the Oxus is the only river to which his expressions can belong; and that the phrase of its flowing to the east, which has been applied to the course of its stream, and has been therefore supposed to identify it with the Araxes of later geographers, is to be understood to mean, that the river forms the north-eastern boundary of the Persian empire. Were it otherwise, Cyrus would not have crossed it to attack the Massagetæ; nor, as we have seen, could these last, without a miracle, have been the cause of the great Scythian emigration. And this north-eastern origin of the Scoloti is still further confirmed by the apparent connection which existed between them and the Sacæ of Turkestan, who really had the Massagetæ for neighbours, and who are expressly called a race of Scythians, not only by Arrian and Justin, but also by Herodotus. And this last writer, it may be observed, so carefully distinguishes the people in question from the Massagetæ, the Sauromatæ, and other wandering tribes, that it is evident the name of Scythian was not, like our modern phrase of Tartar, indiscriminately applied to the pastoral nations of Northern Asia, but appropriated, at least in early times, to a peculiar race and language.



**XXXVIII.**—We have seen the Cimmerians flying before the Scoloti in the same manner as, in after ages, the Goths fled before the banners of Attila : and we have seen them (in this also resembling the Goths) carry destruction and havoc into the countries which yielded them an asylum. But the miseries of Asia were not to terminate with the expulsion of these unruly guests by Halyattes, since their pursuers also were at hand, and in their hostility against the Cimmerians, found an excuse or a motive for the invasion of the countries whither they had fled ; but ignorant of the district of Caucasus, or of the exact tract which the Cimmerians had followed, the Scythians marched, with the mountains on the right hand and the Caspian Sea on their left ; and were thus conducted, not into Lydia, but into the equally opulent and fertile kingdom of the Medes. To these last the Sacæ were doubtless well-known as troublesome neighbours on their eastern frontier ; and Cyaxares, who then sat on the throne of Ecbatana, had, some years before, experienced a lamentable proof of the vindictive and bloody temper of these wanderers, a small party of whom he had retained in his service as huntsmen. But from the north-west, and through the passes of Caucasus, so great a storm had never proceeded before ; and the whole tenour of Persian history, or romance, is evidence how much Upper Asia suffered from this unexpected irruption of the warriors of *Touran*. Yet the Medes at that time were among the most warlike nations of the world, and Cyaxares one of the greatest captains of his age ; the first, if we believe Herodotus, who had introduced the division of armies into regular and distinct bodies of infantry and cavalry, heavy-armed troops and archers ; and he was then occupied by the siege of Nineveh, when he was called off by the arrival of this new and tremendous enemy. He was overpowered in one decisive battle by the cavalry of his invaders ; he himself and his nobles fled to the mountains ; and the Scolot chief, Madyes, son of Protothnias, during the space of eight-and-twenty years, governed or ravaged Asia from the Caspian to the River of Egypt. Their cavalry, however, was prevented from entering Egypt itself, either by the intersected and marshy nature of the country, or by the submission and tribute of its rulers. A disease of a doubtful and unusual nature, which is described by Herodotus in too general terms to enable us to give it a modern name, assailed and weakened their army in its return through Palestine, and was imputed by the Pagans to the revenge of Venus, whose temple in Ascalon they had plundered. On their retreat into Media, the Scythian nobles incautiously accepted a treacherous invitation to a banquet, where

they were all murdered by Cyaxares : the remnant of their nation, dispirited and discontented, fell back into the same northern solitudes whence they had first expelled the Cimmerians.

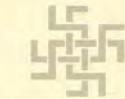
XXXIX.—This terrible inroad, the first we have any certain account of, in which the northern tribes rushed forward to the milder climate and richer soil of the south, might reasonably be expected to have found a place in the sacred writings of the Jews, whose country must have been, during a considerable time, while the Scythians were arranging their terms with Egypt, the scene of their encampments ; and contained the ancient city of Bethshan, in after times, and in memory of this inroad, called Scythopolis<sup>1</sup>. And there is some reason to conclude that the invasion of Palestine by the Scythians is described by the Prophet Ezekiel, who has, under the name of “ Gog, chief prince of Meshech and Tubal,” painted in very lively colours the peculiarities of a predatory army like theirs. Very different explanations have indeed been hitherto given of this famous passage ; so, though the digression be somewhat long, I may hope for pardon from my readers, if I draw their attention from the Scoloti themselves, to the effects which they produced on the more civilized nations of the world, and to accomplish which they were the destined and predicted instruments of Providence.

XL.—The substance of the prophecy is briefly as follows :—At some period, when the people of the Jews should be in part restored to their native country, and before they had repaired the walls of their cities<sup>2</sup>, a northern nation or potentate, who is called by Ezekiel “ Gog,” bringing with him, as subjects or allies, many nations therein enumerated, was to invade Israel with a mighty army ; they were to be all horsemen, equipped, according to the authors of the Septuagint version, who best knew the dresses and armour usual in their own time, with small Amazonian<sup>3</sup> targets ; with bonnets, fillets, or tiaras ; with swords and bows. They were to be actuated by the hope of plunder and slaves ; and their loose array and predatory character is beautifully expressed by their “ covering the country like a cloud.” They were, however, to be destroyed by some evident interposition of the Almighty, by storm, pestilence, and some great dissension among themselves, which was to turn every man’s sword against his neighbour. The Jews themselves are not mentioned as having any active hand in their defeat, but were to bury their corpses and burn their bows ;

<sup>1</sup> Reland. *Palestine de Urb. a Vicis. Art. Scythopolis.*

<sup>2</sup> Ezekiel xxxviii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Πελται, περικεφαλαιαι.—LXX.



and a district and city of Israel was to receive a new name from this inroad, and the ruin of the invaders.—These prophecies are applied by Calmet to Cambyses<sup>1</sup>, who was a bloody tyrant doubtless, and who perished by a singular accident at Ecbatana, near Mount Carmel; by Grotius, to Antiochus Epiphanes; by Lowth and others, to some modern or future potentate, who should, in the last ages of the world, disturb the peace of the Christian Church, and impede the conversion or the restoration of the Jews.

XLI.—But “Gog and Magog” have, by the common testimony and tradition of the east, been referred to the nations north of Caucasus; and cannot, therefore, be with any propriety applied to either Persian, or Syrian, or Macedonian kings and armies, of whom the first would have been called in Scripture Elam, or Mædai; the second and third either Aram, Chittim, or Javan. We have no reason to suppose that Cambyses was *actively* hostile to the Jews; and it is directly contrary to history that his army fell either by pestilence or sword on the mountains of Israel. Nor were the Persians of those days an equestrian nation. The arguments against the identity of Gog with Antiochus Epiphanes, are yet stronger. Of the nations enumerated by Ezekiel as Gog’s vassals, very few were subject to Antiochus. Instead of all his army being horse, he had but a very moderate proportion of cavalry; while, at the same time, he had many elephants, a description of force which the prophet would hardly have omitted in a poetical painting. His most remarkable and characteristic weapons were not those ascribed to Gog by Ezekiel, but the long pikes and massive shield of a Macedonian phalanx. Judea, instead of being a land of un-walled villages, was, in his time, filled with fortresses; and so far from the defeat of his army being produced by pestilence and dissension, it was ascribable to the valour of the Jews under the Maccabee princes. Against those, lastly, who refer the fulfilment of this prophecy to modern or future times, it may be urged, that the bows and shields of Gog are not characteristic of a modern army; and that the general tenour of Ezekiel appears to fix the coming of this invader to a time anterior to the building of the second temple. With the Scythian inroad it has not yet been compared; but this last hypothesis will be found, perhaps, less liable to the objections and obscurities which have perplexed the more sober train of enquirers into the meaning of these prophecies, and have produced the strangest political visions in interpreters of a more sanguine turn.

XLII.—By far the greater number of the predictions given by Ezekiel

<sup>1</sup> Calmet Dissert. sur Ezekiël.

relate to events which were very speedily to follow ; and it is, perhaps, on this account that he is, of all the prophets, the most exact in fixing the date of their publication, because on this date depended the evidence of the priority of the prophecy to its accomplishment. Now the curse denounced on Gog is apparently a part of that vision or revelation of the Divine will, which Ezekiel professes to have received in "the twelfth year of our captivity, in the tenth month, and fifth day of the month<sup>1</sup>," in which he inveighs against the lawless and predatory habits of those who, after the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, continued to inhabit "the wastes of the land of Israel," and threatens them with a still heavier calamity, and destruction still more hopeless than that which had already befallen their nation. The date, then, of Ezekiel's prophecy being obtained, there is, it may be observed, a very remarkable event recorded by Herodotus, which enables us to fix within a few years the period at which the Scythians invaded Media, and places the great calamity almost forty years later than Dean Prideaux and most other chronologers have supposed. This event is the total eclipse of the sun, which Thales, the Milesian, had calculated, and which occurred on the day of a great battle between the Medes and Lydians, and, as is generally believed, in the year before Christ, 601. In what year of the reign of Cyaxares this took place, we are not told ; but as it was at the close of a five years' war between that sovereign and the Lydians, occasioned by the protection afforded by these last to the fugitive Scythian hunters who had murdered their royal pupil, we cannot conveniently place it earlier than his sixth or seventh year. But the whole reign of Cyaxares was forty years, during twenty-eight of which the Scoloti were in military possession of Asia ; and as, after their expulsion, we cannot allow him less than three years to re-establish his power and subdue Nineveh, so an equal time must be allowed between the eclipse above mentioned and their invasion, during which time Cyaxares made peace with Alyattes, by the mediation of Labynetus, king of Babylon<sup>2</sup> ; married the Lydian princess, Ariene ; and, after collecting a great army, defeated the Assyrians, and was actually employed in the first siege of Nineveh when Madyes and his hordes assailed him. The invasion, then, of Madyes may be safely placed in the year before Christ 598, being the one after the first taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and being, therefore, the second year of Ezekiel's captivity. It may be further collected from the narrative of Hero-

<sup>1</sup> Ezekiel xxxiii. 21.<sup>2</sup> Clio 74.

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dous, that the final expulsion of the Scythians from Media took place very soon after their return from the Egyptian expedition; and, indeed, many years were likely to have been consumed in their previous subjugation of Upper Asia. Fixing, therefore, their advance against Egypt to the twenty-fourth year after their entrance into Media, or to the twenty-fifth year of Ezekiel's captivity, a space of thirteen years will be found to intervene between the date of this prediction and the passage of the Scoloti through Israel and Judea.

**XLIII.**—During the period which elapsed between Zedekiah's death and the return of Ezra with the nobility and priests to Jerusalem, it is apparent that the great body of the common people remained in Judah. Nebuchadnezzar only carried away four thousand six hundred persons; the emigrants who fled with Gedaliah into Egypt, do not appear to have been very numerous; and several of these last, and many of those who had been carried away by Esarhaddon and Nebuchadnezzar, returned from time to time to their native country; where Ezra, who does not describe the land as uninhabitable, undoubtedly found a resident population to receive the forty-two thousand who returned with him. And these were the people living without laws and in scattered villages, whom Ezekiel menaces with calamities subsequent to the destruction of their city by Nebuchadnezzar. The circumstances, therefore, of the Jews, at the time of the Scythian invasion, precisely tally with those under which Gog, with his kindred hordes, was to assail them. Nor can any other time be mentioned in which the children of Israel dwelt "safely," or, as the word may be rendered, "carelessly," or "lawlessly," without walls or fortified cities. Moreover, the names of those nations who were to compose the army of Gog, nearly correspond with the circumstances of the Scythian inroad; as will appear from the following observations. That "Gog" itself is the usual name for the nations north of Caucasus, we have the authority of Bochart, and of the uniform traditions of the east, which have always dignified the defences raised by the Persian sovereigns against the Tartars with the name of "the ramparts of Gog and Magog." In like manner, "Tubal, Meshech, and Togarmah," (who were all descendants of Japheth, and whom we find in other passages of Ezekiel, trading to the fairs of Tyre with the usual Scythian merchandise of slaves and horses) are always placed in the north; and the two last-named patriarchs may be regarded, perhaps, as the ancestors of the Massagetae and Turkish tribes. Nor, when we recollect how easily the Huns induced the conquered nations of

the north, to unite under their banner, and aid their further progress against a feeble and wealthy enemy, can we be surprised to find so many other tribes associated with the Scoloti in an enterprize so promising, as the invasion of Media and Egypt? Elam and Gomer, the Persians and Cimmerians, are found accordingly, among the allies or subjects of Gog; as well as Cush and Phut, the descendants of that Egyptian colony which Sesostris left on the coasts of the Euxine. But of all these nations the predominant character would be Scythian; their arms and equipments would be formed after the same model, and the main object of their invasion would be doubtless slaves and booty.

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**XLIV.**—For the circumstances of their retreat from the frontiers of Egypt, as the Jews who were resident in their own country had then no historian, it is useless to weary conjecture. We may recollect, however, that it was the custom of the heathen nations to ascribe to their own gods, whatever act of miraculous power had been displayed by Jehovah: and that the Egyptians attributed to the interposition of Vulcan the destruction of the Assyrian army under Sennacherib<sup>1</sup>. This being considered, it may strike even a careless observer as a remarkable coincidence, that the Almighty threatens by his prophets “to plead against Gog by pestilence and blood;” and that Herodotus tells us that in consequence of their having pillaged the temple of Venus in Ascalon, the Scythians were afflicted by a strange and grievous disorder, and were so much reduced in numbers, as shortly after to be expelled from Asia by a very trifling effort of the Medes. It may then be thought that the miserable remnant of resident Israelites were at this time afflicted by a new invader, but rescued from utter ruin by a providential and, probably, a miraculous deliverance; that this Scythian inroad was, however, the term of their calamities; and that thenceforward the restoration of their country gradually proceeded till the return of Ezra, and the rebuilding of the temple. And, lastly, that Bethshan, a district and city near the sea of Gennesareth, became from that time, under its new name of Scythopolis, in the expressive language of the Septuagint translation ΤΟΠΟΣ ΟΝΟΜΑΣΤΟΣ ΤΩ ΓΩΓ ΣΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΙΣΡΑΗΛ.

**XLV.**—I am not insensible to the arguments which may be used against my hypothesis, and feel that many difficulties will even yet remain unexplained in this remarkable prophecy. If, however, it should be urged that Prideaux places the Scythian invasion almost forty years earlier than I have done, I would merely refer my readers to the text of Herodotus,

<sup>1</sup> Euterpe 141.

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which that learned person has in this place strangely misconceived; since it is apparent that the solar eclipse occurred, not after the expulsion of the Scoloti from Asia, but before their entrance into it<sup>1</sup>; and I would further add, that had the Scythian army passed through the land of Israel and Judah twice (and such a race would not have passed without leaving their track in blood and fire) during the reigns of Josiah, Jehoiakim, or Zedekiah, we should have had, doubtless, a regular account of the circumstance from the contemporary prophets and historians. Some may perhaps object that the arrival of Gog is placed by Ezekiel “after many days”—“in the latter years;” and that he is said to have been “spoken of in old time by the prophets of Israel.” But length of time is merely comparative; and thirteen or fourteen years is a terrible duration for a tyranny so wild and outrageous as that which Herodotus ascribes to the Scythians in Asia, and which had already continued ten or twelve years. “In the latter years” is only a simple periphrasis for “at length<sup>2</sup>,” as “in old time” may merely signify beforehand; while the expression, “many years,” in our translation, is not warranted either by the original or the Septuagint. In the reference to former prophets, Joel is apparently intended, though some passages in Isaiah himself have a seeming relation to Gog. Another objection which occurs to me is, that the Almighty promises, after the destruction of Gog, to have mercy “on the whole house of Israel, and that he would “hide his face from them no more.” These are passages which have induced many interpreters to refer the prophecy to the future and final re-establishment of the Jews, and their conversion to Christianity, but which are very capable of another explanation, since Ezra uses the same expression of “all Israel” to those who returned with him to Jerusalem; and since the same notions of final restoration are coupled by Isaiah with the decree of Cyrus. It is evident, indeed, from many texts both in the Old and New Testaments, that this return from Babylon included many individuals and families of all the twelve tribes; and it was certainly true that God thenceforward never abandoned His people or His sanctuary, till He came, in whom the whole law of Moses and expectations of Israel were sealed up and accomplished. It may, lastly, be objected that the burial-place of Gog was to be “east of the sea,” an expression which certainly does not apply to Scytopolis. But the Hebrew word מִזְרָח more frequently signifies “before,” or “towards,” than “eastward of;” and it is in the first of these senses that the seventy interpreters have in this place translated it. I need hardly observe, that

<sup>1</sup> Clio 73, 104.<sup>2</sup> Grotius ad loc.

the above hypothesis as to the primary meaning and fulfilment of Ezekiel's prophecy, does by no means interfere with the application of many of its military terms and poetical images by the author of the Apocalypse, to a future and, most probably, a spiritual victory of Christ and his saints over the powers of the earth and hell in the last ages of the world.

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For this long digression on a subject which may seem, perhaps, not very closely connected with the history of Scythia, I am sensible that an apology is necessary; but if it save the world from a repetition of certain applications of the characters of Gog and Magog to modern times and tyrants, one good end at least will have been obtained by it, and neither my labour nor that of my readers will have been entirely thrown away<sup>1</sup>.

XLVI.—One strange consequence is asserted by Herodotus to have followed from the long campaign of the Scythians in Media, which is, however, too preposterous to be worth mentioning, had not modern compilers, gravely and without suspicion, retailed it on his authority. Their wives, whom they had left in Scythia, married, during their absence, their bond-slaves; and these last, or their offspring, took up arms to resist the return of their rightful lords<sup>2</sup>. With the bow and the sabre both sides were equal; but when the Scythians brandished their whips against these refrac-

<sup>1</sup> Theodoret supposes the invasion of Gog to have occurred in the time of Zorobabel. But had it then occurred, it would have been most probably recorded by Ezra or Nehemiah. He calls however, Gog, Mesheck, and Thobel, all Scythians; and assures us, on the authority of the ancient Rabbins (which singularly corresponds with the statement of Herodotus) that the northern nations made, about this time, a notable inroad into Palestine.—*Πησιν οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν γενομένοι εκκλησίας διδασκαλοὶ ταῦτα τα εθνη επιστρατευσαὶ τη Ιουδαιᾳ*.—Theodoret. Tom. ii. p. 513. Ed. Par. 1642.

<sup>2</sup> It is not very easy to discover from the statement of Herodotus, whether they were the adulterous lovers of the Scythian women who opposed the return of their masters, or the children who had grown up from this intercourse during the twenty-eight years absence of their husbands. The Scythian slaves were blind; so that the first supposition seems out of the question. Yet the trench dug to oppose the return of the invaders of Media, was called the “trench of the blind,” which seems to make it their work. And it is equally preposterous to suppose that the children of slaves, who had grown up during their masters’ absence, could have any fear or habitual reverence for whips which they had never felt. On the whole, it may be thought, perhaps, that if there be any truth in the story, they were the slaves themselves who mutinied; and that the cruel precaution of blinding them was occasioned by their rebellion, and had not been practised till then. The entrenchment, which extends from Iski Crim to Arabat, has been regarded by many as a work of the Bosphorites. But Strabo (l. xi.) regards it as Cimmerian; and it is plain, from the history of Herodotus, that it existed before the Bosphorites had settled on that coast.



tory domestics, the well-known instrument of correction, which the disuse of eight-and-twenty years had not, it seems, obliterated from the recollection of the mutineers, at once put them to flight.—It is evident that this story must be either false or greatly exaggerated, since the Scythian natives were in the habit, not of leaving their wives and flocks behind them defenceless, but of emigrating with all their wealth and connections about them; and since the effect imputed to a brandished horse-whip surpasses all power of belief. But it is certain that a vallum, or trench, of very considerable dimensions still exists, extending from Iski Crim to the neighbourhood of Arabat, in the exact situation in which Herodotus places the entrenchment of these slaves; so that there was, doubtless, some foundation for this extravagant story, though at present it may be impossible to separate the truth from its attendant falsehood and exaggeration.

XLVII.—For a considerable space of time, no more is certainly known of the history of the Scythians. Like those, indeed, of most other barbarous nations, their annals, if we possessed them, would probably contain very little which could interest or gratify curiosity; and even the expedition against their country by Darius, king of Persia, is an event of which the details are too familiarly known to most of my readers, to require any lengthy comment. Herodotus ascribes it to a desire on the part of Darius to revenge the invasion of Media, one hundred and fifty-two years before. Ctesias, with more apparent reason, regards it as the consequence of a slave-trading scheme of Priaramnes, Satrap of Cappadocia, who, having sent thirty small vessels to ravage the coast of Scythia, encouraged his government to undertake a similar, but far more extensive effort for the subjugation of the whole country. The expedition of Darius was, if we believe Ctesias, confined to the deserts of Bessarabia; and his retreat was rendered chiefly unfortunate by the destruction of his bridge over the Danube, and the consequent loss of the rear of his vast army. Nor can I help regarding this account as far more probable than the progress ascribed to the Persians by Herodotus, through a desert and almost waterless country, under circumstances which must apparently have destroyed any army, however frugal or well-provided. But to whatever extent the army of Darius overran the country, it is probable that by this expedition, and the naval one of Priaramnes to the sea of Azoph and the Don, the greater part of European Scythia became known both to the Greeks and Persians; and this knowledge was soon after considerably extended by the settlements which the former people effected on the coast of the Tauric Chersonese,

and at the mouth of the principal rivers. The accounts of these settlers, however, as collected by Herodotus, are very difficult to reconcile with the present face of the country, which, wide as it is, has hardly room for the various tribes whom he enumerates, and into which, with the usual lot of barbarous nations, the Scoloti soon divided themselves. West of the Borysthenes, and in a situation admirably adapted for agriculture, the two families of Callipidæ and Halizones, the first of Greek, the second of uncertain origin, were distinguished from the Scythians by their habit of tilling the ground and feeding on bread. Next to them were the Scythian ploughmen, who had already so far unlearnt their pastoral habits as to cultivate corn for sale, though not for their own consumption. Of the Neuri further north no information is given, and they do not appear to have been a Scythian people. East of the Borysthenes, a maritime and uninhabited district was known by the name of Hylæa, "the Woodland;" to the north of Hylæa the same bank of the river was occupied by another race of agricultural Scythians, and above them, by a nation distinct from the Scythians, and called by Herodotus the "Man-eaters<sup>1</sup>," or, from the colour of their garments, "the Black-mantles," or Melanchlæni. These extended far to the eastward, and formed the northern boundary of the several tribes of "Grazing and Royal Scythians." The first of these inhabited a space of fourteen days' journey between the rivers Panticape and Gerrhus. The second had the Gerrhus for their western boundary; for their southern, the country of the Tauri, while to the east they were partly contained by the Tanais, and partly by the entrenchment formerly mentioned as erected by the mutinous offspring of the slaves. Beyond the Tanais were the Sauromatae; and to the north of these last, a numerous and red-haired nation, called Budini, among whom Herodotus places a colony of degenerate Greeks, fugitives from the various factories established by that nation on the coast, but who still cultivated the ground, and in their wooden city of Gelonus had temples to the gods of their forefathers. The regions eastward of the Sauromatae were altogether unknown, or peopled with monsters or savages, the usual marvels by which a barbarous people seek to disguise ignorance.

<sup>1</sup> That the Androphagi and Melanchlæni were the same people, is apparent from what Herodotus says of the latter, that they were the *only man-eaters* in that country. (Melp. 107.) Mr. Pinkerton calls the Melanchlæni, Sarmatians; on his own authority, I suppose. At least he cannot produce a single ancient testimony to their having any connection with the Sarmatians. (Dissert. p. 17.)



XLVIII.—This account is sufficiently minute indeed, but is so perfectly irreconcilable with the present features of the country, that it is apparent, either that Herodotus was strangely misinformed in many circumstances of Scythian geography, or that succeeding writers have given very different names to the features of nature which he describes; or, lastly, that the face of the country itself is materially altered. If we take it for granted, as most geographers have done, that the Borysthenes is no other than the Dnieper, we find no streams between that and the Tanais answering to the descriptions given of the Gerrhus and the Panticape<sup>1</sup>; nor a space by any means sufficient for the several tribes of the Agricultural, the Royal, and the Grazing Scythians. Thus, from the Borysthenes to the Panticape was three days' journey, occupied by the first-named of these tribes; the Grazing Scythians wandered over a space of fourteen days' journey between the Panticape and the Gerrhus; and between this last and the Tanais a considerable tract must have intervened, which was occupied by the most numerous and powerful of all the Scythian tribes, the Basilii, or Royalists. But the whole space between the Dnieper and the Don does not exceed fifteen days' journey at twenty miles each day; and of the rivers which really occur in that space, the small streamlet of the Calankia Ingul only falls into the sea west of the Tauric peninsula. There is no district eastward of the Dnieper, which offers the least sign of a forest; nor did I ever hear of any fossil-wood being found, which might be an evidence of such having formerly existed. And the assertion of Baron de Tott, that a forest had once extended over the district between Kirburun and Perekop, I suspect to have rather proceeded from his own reliance on Herodotus, than from any testimony of the neighbouring Tartars. Those bleak downs can never have been favourable to the growth of trees, which

<sup>1</sup> The Panticape and Gerrhus are described by Herodotus as the one rising from a northern lake, and running for eleven days' journey nearly parallel to the Borysthenes, at about three days' journey asunder; then as passing through Hylæa, and falling into the Borysthenes. The Gerrhus is said to diverge from the Borysthenes at the distance of forty days' journey from the sea; and to have diverged so widely as to leave a space between the streams of fourteen days' journey, in which space, and between the two, the Panticape, had its source. The Gerrhus then falls into another river, called the Hypacaris, which falls into the sea, bounding to the right hand the country of Hylæa and the Dromos Achillios. Now it is certain that no such streams as these exist between the Dnieper and the Donetz; and the elevated level of the Nogay steppe makes it utterly impossible that the Dnieper should ever have sent out such an arm as is here described. It is something remarkable that Herodotus makes no mention of the cataracts and rapids of the Dnieper.

are in this country confined to the marshy islets of the Dnieper, and the warm and sheltered glens of the Crimea.

**XLIX.**—If we could suppose that in ancient times the Borysthenes, besides its present devious course, discharged itself by a channel in the line of the present Kingili Ingul, a direction far more exactly answering to the southerly course assigned it by Herodotus, than that which it at present maintains, the collocation of the rivers would be easily understood, though their intervals would still be exaggerated; and we might reasonably conclude that the most western arm of the river was taken by the Greeks for its main stream: that the Ingulec which falls into the Liman by Cherson was their Panticape; the marshy and woody isles of the Liman were their Hylæa; and the present bed of the Dnieper was with them the Gerrhus, or the easterly branch of the Borysthenes. In that case, we should refer all the Scythian tribes, except the Royalists, to the west of the present Dnieper, which we must necessarily do to obtain room for the pasturage of this most numerous horde, who would else be contracted into a far less compass than either the Callipidæ, Halizones, or Ploughmen. But the rapid stream of the Dnieper, and the rocky nature of its present bed, render me unwilling to believe that it can have ever flowed by a direct course to the sea, and have then abandoned it for a more devious one; and it is safer, perhaps, to believe Herodotus mistaken, than nature changeable. That one change, however, has taken place in the course of these mighty streams, as it was the opinion of many well-informed persons with whom I conversed at Odessa, and as it may lead to some new lights on this intricate geography, I will not suppress, though I do not vouch for the truth of the supposition. North of Odessa, and in a direct line between the bay of that city and the Dniester, a string of salt lakes extends along a narrow valley, which has altogether the appearance of having been the bed of a great river, and by which, as it might seem, the Dniester originally reached the sea. When I was in that country, the possibility was frequently discussed of diverting the river from its present to its supposed former channel, and of thereby making Odessa the natural emporium of all the corn and timber of Podolia and the Bukovina; and I did not hear that any other obstacle existed than the expense and labour necessary. Now if this were really its ancient estuary, not only will the mouths of the Dniester, Bog, and Dnieper be brought greatly nearer to each other; but if we suppose, as is not improbable, that the whole channel between Tendea and Odessa was regarded by the Greeks as the estuary of the Borysthenes, and that their ignorance



made them consider the Bog and Dnieper as branches of the same mighty stream, it may be thought that not the Bog, but the Dniester is the Hypanis; and that the Candak, a stream too considerable to have escaped the notice of Herodotus, is, in fact, the Tyras of that author. At all events, unless we place the grazing Scythians to the west of the Dnieper, it is impossible to find either a wood for their southern, or a river for their eastern boundary; and unless Herodotus be wrong in all his reckoning of distances, we shall vainly seek for room in this scanty continent for the tribes which he enumerates<sup>1</sup>.

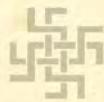
L.—The Grecian colonies on the rivers and promontories of Scythia, of which Bosphorus, Cherson, and Olbiopolis were the most considerable, do not appear to have excited much jealousy in the wandering lords of the soil, nor to have materially impaired their independance: and for several hundred years after the repulse of Darius, the Scoloti enjoyed their deserts unmolested. Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander made, indeed, small inroads north of the Danube; and the latter, in the plenitude of his power, led a fruitless expedition against the Sacæ of Turkestan, whose river, Jaxartes, both Arrian and Justin ignorantly confound with the Tanais<sup>2</sup>. But the Getæ and Triballi bore the main brunt of the former of these attacks, and the western Scoloti were nowise concerned in the other.

<sup>1</sup> So far as the Basilli are concerned, most geographers have materially encreased the difficulty by supposing that the *ταφρος των τυφλων*, which Herodotus describes as, in part, their eastern boundary, was the same with the present vallum of Perekop. But this famous entrenchment runs east and west, and therefore cannot have been the eastern boundary of any region; and so far from being a considerable distance from the Hypacaris, if this last be the Calankia Ingul, it is hardly two days' journey from it. And as Rubruquis is perfectly silent as to any such entrenchment in his time, we may be sure that the works at Perekop are modern. And though he compares the isthmus itself to a trench, he does not mean that it was intersected by one, but that, by the optical deception common in such cases, the two seas seemed higher than the narrow green track between them. The trench, (or vallum) of the blind, however, was drawn from "the mountains of the Tauri to the Palus Maeotis," and can, therefore, answer to nothing but that which I have already mentioned as passing from Iski Crim to Arabat.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, Lib. iii. 28, 29. Justin. Lib. xii. 5. This confusion of names has given rise to the fancy mentioned by Dr. Clarke as prevalent among the Cossaks, and of which many ancient authors are not guiltless,—that Alexander passed the Don, and raised altars and a city there (Travels, vol. i. p. 273.) The ruins which the Cossaks consider as the remains of Alexandria are probably those of Sarcel, the city of the Chosares, which, though D'Anville has strangely misplaced it in his map, was, beyond a doubt, built on the Don, to repress the incursions of the Patzinacitæ.

The Scythian empire of Mithridates was chiefly confined to the Tauric and Grecian colonies; the wandering tribes were his allies rather than his subjects; and slaves and fish, the only valuables which those regions furnished, were more easily and cheaply procured by barter than by military expeditions. About a century before the Christian æra we find, however the whole of Western Scythia, and the Crimea itself, subdued by the more remote and ferocious tribe of Sauromatæ, whose habitation, in the time of Herodotus<sup>1</sup>, was eastward of the Tanais, but who had, at the period in which Strabo<sup>2</sup> wrote, and that, still earlier, in which Mithridates reigned, extended themselves to the Danube and the Carpathian mountains, extirpating or amalgamating with their own name and nation, the whole multitude of intervening tribes. These Sauromatæ, or Sarmatians, were, if we believe Herodotus, of a kindred race with the Scoloti themselves, and the descendants of certain young Scythians, who intermarried with a fugitive race of Amazons<sup>3</sup>.

LI.—When those warlike females (whose history, so improbable in itself, and yet confirmed by so great a force of testimony, must probably remain for ever among those historical features which it would be equally dangerous to reject or to receive) had been defeated by the Greeks in the great battle of Thermodon, the victors, after collecting such of their captives as were worth the carriage, embarked them on board three ships for Greece. The prisoners, during the voyage, rose on their guards, and put them all to death; but being ignorant of navigation, and not knowing whither to direct their course, were carried, at the mercy of the winds and waves, to the barren and rocky entrance of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which was then possessed by the Royal or Free Scythians, where, having landed, they seized a herd of horses, and, armed with the weapons of their late masters, began to pillage the neighbourhood. The Scythians regarding them as men, at first opposed their incursion by force; but when they found, by the corpses of those whom they slew, with what kind of enemies they had to deal, it was resolved that a party of their young men, answering in number to these female warriors, should be detached to observe them closely, and seek all opportunities of conciliation. The particulars of this savage courtship are told by Herodotus with that graceful simplicity which is peculiar to the ancients, and which a modern compiler cannot venture to imitate. They hunted long in each other's neighbourhood, “and when the Amazons knew that the young men came for no treachery, they let them

<sup>1</sup> Strabo. l. vii.<sup>2</sup> Appian. de bell. Mithridatico, lxix.<sup>3</sup> Herod. Melp. 110.

speed, and every day the one camp drew closer to the other." A straggler from each party found means to meet and express themselves by mutual signs, (for they had no common language but that of the eyes;) and this good understanding soon led to a general alliance. "Joining their camp, they dwelt together, each having as wife her whom he had first met with; and the men could not learn the language of the women, but the women caught that of the men; and when they understood each other, the men said unto the women, 'We verily have both parents and household-stuff; wherefore now let us not lead this life any longer, but going to our nation, let us dwell with them, and you and none other will we have to wife.' And the women said, 'We cannot dwell with your women, for we have not the same customs with them; we shoot with bows, and throw the spear, and ride on horseback, and we have not learnt womanly works. And your women do none of these things, but work womanly works, abiding in the tents, and going not forth either to hunt or war; we cannot, therefore, dwell with them. But if ye will have us for wives, and deal justly by us, then go to your parents and receive your shares of their inheritance, and afterwards we will dwell apart from your people.'" The nation thus formed was called Sauromatae, or Sarmatians; they spoke the Scythian language, a little corrupted by the faulty pronunciation of their mothers; and their women retained, even to the time of Herodotus, the custom of attending their husbands in the battle or the chase<sup>1</sup>.

LII.—I certainly shall not undertake either to justify the accounts of an Amazonian nation, nor to reconcile this story with the date of the battle of Thermodon<sup>2</sup>; but there is, in fact, no necessary connection between

<sup>1</sup> If we believe Herodotus, no Sarmatian girl was allowed to marry till she had killed an enemy; and many died unmarried, not having had an opportunity of fulfilling this law.

<sup>2</sup> The battle of Thermodon is said by Justin (lib. xi. c. 4,) to have been fought by Hercules and Theseus. In this he is at variance with the Greek writers, who make Theseus to have visited the Amazons in Attica, not to have invaded them in Paphlagonia; (Plutarch in vit. Thes.) and this date is utterly inconsistent with the accounts given by Herodotus, since Hercules had been long deified, and Theseus long deceased, before the Scythians entered Europe.

There may, indeed, have been two battles of Thermodon; for Herodotus does not seem to have supposed that Hercules was present at the one which he mentions, and Homer mentions nothing of either. But so recent a compiler as T. Pompeius is no very competent authority on the affairs of Hercules.

The story which Herodotus gives of the origin of the Sarmatae has been strangely misquoted by many historians, but by none so much as by Mr. Pinkerton. He gravely tells us, giving Herodotus as his authority, that "some of the Sarmatae learned the Scythian tongue

the circumstances here detailed, and that celebrated engagement ; nor, if we suppose that the information of Herodotus was thus far incorrect, is there any thing in the remaining statement which is at all improbable. The crews of three Greek slave-ships, on their way from Mingrelia to Paphlagonia, are surprised and massacred by their miserable cargoes. That these were all women, can excite no surprise, since, in those days, no males received quarter in battle ; since field-slaves were unknown ; and since all the offices of a family were performed by females. Nor is it at all unlikely that these poor creatures, on landing in Scythia, should have employed the weapons of their late masters to defend themselves from a new slavery ; or that, this fear removed, they should have been good and courageous wives to their wandering husbands. At the same time, supposing them to have existed as a separate community for even a few months, it is obvious how the circumstance of women landing on a foreign soil with arms in their hands, might give rise to the belief of an Amazonian nation, of which these were a colony. Nor is it less evident how naturally the Greeks, in after times, would connect such a story with their own national legends of Penthesilea, Hippolita, and Menalippe. At all events, and whatever credit may be given to this account of their origin, concerning the language spoken by the Sarmatians in his own time, Herodotus was surely competent to speak with certainty ; and the fact of which he assures us, that they spoke a dialect of Scythian, is apparently a sufficient answer to the opinion which many learned men have, in later times, adopted, that they were a distinct race from the Scoloti, and a more recent colony from Media.

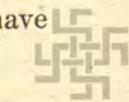
LIII.—Diodorus Siculus<sup>1</sup>, the great authority on which this hypothesis is built, and whose whole history of the Scythians is so much at variance with that of Herodotus, that the one or the other must be abandoned, wrote at a period so much more recent than Herodotus, and his knowledge of all these countries is so greatly inferior, that it seems a strange kind of prejudice which builds on the testimony of a remote and credulous antiquary, in preference to that of one who had himself visited the countries, and conversed with the people whom he describes. And further, the conduct attributed by Diodorus to the kings of Scythia, of bringing away, not slaves, but colonies of subjects from Media and Assyria, however consonant

from the Amazons." (See *Dissert.* chap. ii. p. 20.) Let any one compare this account with the literal translation which I have given of the passage referred to, and he will be in considerable doubt, I apprehend, whether this be utter ignorance of Greek, or utter contempt of truth.

<sup>1</sup> *Diod. Sic. lib. ii. chap. 43.*

to the policy of civilized nations, would be utterly preposterous in a people of wandering habits, and in a state so barbarous as that of the Scoloti. Whatever Medes or Assyrians they might carry away with them, would be, undoubtedly, not to plant in cities, after the manner in which the Czar Peter dealt with his neighbours, but as concubines or slaves; and these last, so far from being left in bodies strong enough to become independent tribes, would have been not only scattered through the tents of their respective owners, but, if the Scythians adhered to their usual inhuman custom, have been deprived of eye-sight. Again, if the Sauromatae were a Median colony, what made them so soon forsake their ancient stationary habits of agriculture and commerce, in a situation so favourable for both as the Palus Maeotis? The Medes were not a wandering but a highly-civilized people; the Sauromatae were the wildest of the Scythians; surely such a dereliction of ancient manners, such a deterioration of character, is not to be lightly credited. The Tartar may become settled, and learn to work and eat bread like a European; but it would take many years to wean a European from his bread and wine, to horse-flesh and koumiss; nor have I ever heard an instance of a nation thus retrograding from the agricultural to the pastoral life. Lastly, however, Diodorus goes on to assert, that in consequence of the wars of these Sauromatae with the Scythians, and the distress to which the latter were reduced, many of the Scythian women took the field, and thus gave rise to the fable of the Amazons. Now this we know to be utterly false; for the Amazons, whether fabulous or not, are mentioned by Homer; and the Scythian invasion of Media, and the supposed introduction of a colony of Medes into the Cuban, as the invasion of Media only occurred in the reign of Cyaxares, could not have taken place till some centuries after Homer's death; till which time, according to the arguments of Diodorus himself, any collision between the Scythians and Sauromatae was impossible. Nor should it be forgotten that, in the time of Herodotus, both the Scythians and Sauromatae existed as independant and friendly nations, neither of them inclined to invade or distress the other. But this is not the only proof to be found in Diodorus Siculus, that, from the days of the father of history, the knowledge of the north and east was retrograding amongst the Greeks, and that the more widely succeeding authors departed from his authority, the more effectually they betrayed their own ignorance.

LIV.—To corroborate this hypothesis of Diodorus, it has been added by some learned moderns, for whose talents and knowledge few men have



more respect than myself, that the name Sauro-Matae, or "Sar-Madai," signifies (in what language we are not told) "the descendants of the Medes;" and that the pass of Derbent was called in after times "the Sarmatic gates," because the descendants of the Medes had passed through them to the Palus Maeotis. But till we know that "Sar" was ever used to signify a "descendant" in either the Median or Scythian language, this etymology will have but little weight with the common race of enquirers. There is besides a prior claimant in Madyes king of Scythia, from whom the Sauromatae may be esteemed full as likely to have taken their title as from the Medes. And though the pass of Caucasus was certainly called the Sarmatic gate by the Greeks, as it was also called by the Arabians the rampart of Gog and Magog, it was not so styled in memory of the peaceable egress of the Sarmatians from Media, but of their frequent and terrible inroads by that passage to plunder and destroy. On the whole, the supposed descent of the Sauromatae from the Medes, will be found, perhaps, no less apocryphal than that of the Turks from the Teucii, nor can any connexion be proved between them, except that both originally sprang from the same son of Noah. Media has received many colonies, but is too spacious and fertile a region to be itself deserted for Scythia<sup>1</sup>.

LV.—With the exception of the districts occupied by the Grecian colonists, the Sauromatae, or Sarmatians, for at least 250 years continued

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus mentions, indeed, a northern tribe who professed themselves to be a colony of Medes; but they were found in a country far removed from Sarmatia; and he treats their pretensions as very slightly founded. They were the Sigunna, a tribe of warlike barbarians, whose dress or armour resembled that of the Medes, and who had war-chariots, drawn by small and shaggy, but swift horses. They occupied the regions beyond the upper Danube, and bordering on the Veneti. They may, perhaps, be the same people who were afterwards called Vindelici, whose supposed eastern origin and Amazonian battle-axes were famous in the time of Horace.

— Vindelici, quibus  
 Mos unde deductus per omne  
 Tempus Amazonia securi  
 Dextras obarmet, querere distuli :  
 Nec scire fas est omnia.

On this passage the scholiast writes "that the Vindelici were a tribe who had been expelled from Thrace by the Amazons."

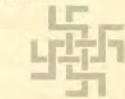
If, as the similarity of the name may seem to imply, they were a tribe of Veneti, the report of their Median descent is easily explained by the known emigration of this last people from Paphlagonia. (Strabo. lib. xi.) They were certainly neither Germans nor Celts; and they are distinguished both from the Rhæti and the Suevi.



in possession of the sovereignty of Scythia. In the time of Strabo their southern extremities reached the Danube in Europe, and the Cuban in Asia. Their eastern tribes appear to have extended to the Caspian, and westward they ravaged the country of the Getæ and Bastarræ so far as the Tibiscus of Teyss. To the north their empire was more contracted, since the Rhoxolani to the north-west, and the more eastern Alani occupied no small part of the plain between the Borysthenes and Tanais<sup>1</sup>. The Sarmatians themselves were divided into many tribes, with whom the conquered Scythians were confounded. Like the Scoloti, their ruling and paramount clan assumed the denomination of Royalists. The others were the Jazyges, the Urgi, the Aorsi, the Seiraci, and, lastly, the Limigantes, a mutinous race of bond-men, whom their masters had entrusted with arms during their war with the Scythians, and who had used these weapons to establish their own liberty. All these clans, as well as their neighbours, the Alani, had the same language, dress, and manners. Their arms were lances, bows and poisoned arrows; and their bodies were defended by cuirasses composed of shavings of horn, disposed like scales on a coarse linen tunic. Their tactics were, however, more adapted for plunder and assassination than for open war. Even in the decline of the empire the Roman infantry easily kept them at bay; and the slight resistance which their Gothic invaders met with in the third century after Christ, is very singularly contrasted with the spirit and prudence which their ancestors displayed against Darius Hystaspes. Yet though the Goths had at least a military possession of the rivers and of the more cultivable parts of the country, the Sarmatians still seem to have preserved to themselves the pasturage of their grassy deserts, and the savage liberty of wandering and plunder. They continued for many years after to ravage the fields of Dacia, and Ammianus mentions a treaty made with their king so late as the year 360.

LVI.—Of the Goths themselves, and their progress from the Baltic, or of the short but memorable period of their empire in Scythia, it is

<sup>1</sup> The Rhoxolani, or Roxani, are distinguished by Strabo from all the Scythic or Sarmatian tribes, and classed with the Peuci and Bastarræ. They had helmets and breast-plates of raw hides, and shields (a sure proof that they were no Sarmatians) of the same material. Their king, Tasius, brought 50,000 men to the assistance of the Chersonites against Mithridates, who were, however, totally defeated, with immense loss, by the disciplined troops of Pontus. (Strabo vii.) That the Roxani were of Slavonic race is highly probable. That they were the founders of the Russian name and nation I could readily believe, if it were not contradicted (as will be seen hereafter) by the earliest histories of the country.



unnecessary for me now to speak. The name of Gothland was for some time affixed to the Crimea; and in some of the mountainous cantons of that peninsula their colonies were long blended with the ancient Tauri, and the German or Swedish language was not unknown there even so late as the embassy of Rubruquis in the 14th century. But the main body of their nation was, as is well known, expelled from Scythia in the year 376, by the great inundation of the Huns and the Alani, who were closely followed in tremendous and continual succession by the Avars, Chozares, Patzinacitæ, Cumani, Magiars, and Vlachi, with many other nations of Mongolian, Tartar, and Finnic descent, who were in these ages let loose from behind the mighty rivers and pathless deserts, where Providence had hitherto kept them bound from disturbing the western world. The immediate causes, however, of their irruption into Europe may be found in the subjugation of the Sauromatæ, by whose name they had hitherto been held in respect, and in the facility with which the Alani (a kindred race with the Sarmatians, who occupied the eastern frontier of Europe along the Volga) united with any invader who led them on against their enemies, the wealthy and tyrannical Goths. The Huns were doubtless a Mongolian family, since the description of their hideous features, as given by Ammianus Marcellinus, can only belong to the ancestors of the present Calmucks. The Tartars or Turks, with whom the learned Des Guignes, misled by his Chinese authorities, most strangely confounds them, so far as to reduce all the various tribes of Northern Asia to one common denomination, are a race distinct both in language and history; and though by conquest and intermarriages they have received a strong tincture of Mongolian blood, are still a fair and comely people in comparison with the followers of Attila. The snowy range of Imaus may seem, indeed, to have bounded, till the time of that monarch, the western progress of his countrymen, since we have no reason afforded us by ancient history for believing that either the Sacæ, Massagetæ, Turks, or Chorasmians at all differed in countenance from the rest of mankind, or from their immediate neighbours the Persians<sup>1</sup>. The Avars, Chazares and Vlachi were known to have

<sup>1</sup> The following painting of the Turkish females in the days of Cyrus, is a tolerably accurate versification of a literal translation from the Shah-Nameh of Ferdusi, for which I am indebted to a MS. of General Malcolm's \*. It may be regarded as proof, first, that the modern

\* Now, 1830, the Honourable Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay.—ED.



been of Turkish stock, and are so called both in the Byzantine histories, and in the earliest Slavonic chronicles. The Patzinacitæ and Cumani spoke the same language ; and the similarity of name would lead us to derive the latter from the river Cuma, which flows through the desert of Astrachan, or from the city of Cumania, which Pliny fixes in the neighbourhood of the Caspian gates. Both these nations, then, may seem to have been Sarmatian tribes, of the same original stock as the Scythians and Alani ; and the enormous length of their hair, which is noticed by the Hungarian writers of a later period, was, perhaps, a proof of their pedigree. The Magyars came from those ample regions, which are now occupied by the Baschkirs and Yakonti. The city of Madshar on the coast of the Caspian, the ruins of which have excited the attention of many travellers, and have been regarded with a very misplaced veneration by several Hungarian literati, is proved by later enquirers to have been a Tartar erection of the 14th century. They are called Turks by Constantine Porphyrogenitus ; but the similarity of language evinces a descent from the Finns, and a close relationship to the far less fortunate tribes who drive their rein-deer through the frozen snows of Lapland and Samoiedia<sup>1</sup>.

LVII.—Of these nations the subsequent fortunes may be given in a few words. The Huns, after the declension of their empire, were still under the name of Chunni, a powerful people in the provinces of Poland, and often ravaged the north of Hungary to a very late period. Their race perhaps may yet survive in the Tartars of Humann, (a singular people, who, in the midst of Slavonians, retain a dialect of Mongolian, and the use of horse-flesh,) or, more probably, has gradually lost itself among the war-like and equestrian Lithuanians. Firoff was called Chunigrad by the Slavonians so late as the year 900. The Avars, at one time the most powerful of eastern nations, can now be no longer traced on a map of the world ; and their excessive pride and exemplary destruction was recorded by a pro-

Tartars of Turkistan are not an uncomely race, since Ferdusi would not have selected a tent of Calmucks as the habitation of beauty ; and secondly, that there was no tradition among the Persians that the ancient Turks at all resembled the Huns, or differed from their present appearance. A part only of the following passage is relevant to this topic ; but the whole affords so pleasing an Eastern landscape, that its insertion will, I trust, be pardoned. It is the speech of Georgin to Begun, when he points out to his companion the beautiful gardens of Afrasiah\*.

<sup>1</sup> Gyamati, Affines Linguæ Hungaricæ.

\* See p. 437.

verb, in the time of the historian Nestor<sup>1</sup>. Of the Chozares, Patzinacitæ, and Cumani, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. The name of one of the Danubian provinces attests the final settlement of the Vlachi or Wallachi; and the Magyars, more fortunate than any of the rest, are at present, with unaltered name, and still preserving their Tchudic language, the peaceable and glorious possessors of the rich plains and vine-clad hills of Hungary<sup>2</sup>. What became of the Sarmatic and Scythian population during these repeated revolutions, it may not be uninteresting to discover. Their main stock would be so easily blended with the Alani, Patzinacitæ, and Cumani, tribes of kindred manners and language to their own, that the conquered and conquering nations would be soon an undistinguished mass. But though many tribes were, doubtless, extirpated or absorbed by their conquerors, the name and posterity of the Jazyges may seem to have still survived the shock in the obscure, though warlike tribe of Jagii<sup>3</sup>, who subsisted as an independant nation in Lithuania so late as the year 1277.

LVIII.—We have hitherto contemplated the main stream of conquest as it continued, during many centuries, to set steadily in from the east. But these were not the only, nor the most important colonies which Scythia was destined to receive; and the Russians and Slavonians from the north and west, began, so early as the ninth century, to show themselves amid the cataracts and marshy islands of the Dnieper. Of these, the first were, if we believe the earliest Russian chronicles, a Scandinavian tribe, the kindred of the Swedes, the Danish, and the English. They landed in the territory of Novogorod about the year 860; and shortly after had sufficient power, or address, to unite the neighbouring tribes of Finns and Slavonians with themselves, under the common authority of a Scandinavian chief, named Ruric, or Roderic<sup>4</sup>. They were the same race with those Waran-

<sup>1</sup> "And these were the Obri (Avars) in those days; and they made war against the Czar (emperor,) Heraclius, and well nigh mastered him. These Obri made war against the Slavi, and they subdued the Duliebi, who are of the Slavi, and they abused the women of the Duliebi. And when an Obre went a journey, he harnessed to his waggon neither horses nor oxen, but he harnessed three, or four, or five women, and they drew the Obre; and to this service the Duliebi were constrained. For the Obri were mighty, and filled with pride, and God destroyed them, and they all perished, and there is no Obre left. And there is a proverb among the Russians, which saith,—'They have perished like the Obri, and have left no children to preserve their remembrance.'”—(Nestor ap Potocki, pp. 194—197.)

<sup>2</sup> Magyar-Orsag is the name which the Hungarians still give to their country. "Orsag," is "kingdom."

<sup>3</sup> Des Guignes, L. xviii. 342. Pastori Horus Polemicus, L. ii. § 14.

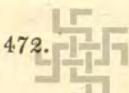
<sup>4</sup> "In the year (of the world, according to the Russian computation,) 6368, and in the

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gians who were long the most faithful mercenaries of the imperial Byzantine guard, whose name, Waringa, or "Warrior," is rather professional than national, and whose language is called by Codinus a dialect of "English<sup>1</sup>." Askold and Dir, two of Roderic's companions, three years after his accession to the Russian sovereignty, advancing to Kief, and uniting themselves with the neighbouring Slavonians, defeated the Chozares, who were till then lords paramount of the soil, and established a new empire in Scythia, which, within a few years, became as formidable to the imbecile government of Constantinople as any of the former occupiers of this country. Thus it was that, about three hundred years after the Saxon conquest of Britain, and sixty previous to the establishment of the Normans in France, another swarm of the same northern hive succeeded in giving a name and a race of sovereigns to the still wider regions of European Scythia. But the Warangians were too small a part of the population to effect, like the Saxons in Briton, a total change in the language of the tribes with whom they coalesced; and there was not that radical difference between the ancient dialects of Scandinavia and Slavonians, which prevented them from easily blending with each other into that mixture which now bears the name of Russian, and of which Slavonian is by far the most conspicuous ingredient. For a few generations the Warangian tongue endured, and

year 6369, and in the year 6370, the Warags came from beyond the sea, but they (the Slavonians,) paid them no tribute. And they began to govern themselves, and there was no justice, and nation strove with nation, and they had war. And they said among themselves, let us make us a prince, that he may govern us, and counsel us aright. And the Russians went beyond the sea to the Warags; for these before-named Warags called themselves Russians, in like manner as others called themselves Swie, others Urmani, others Ingland, others Goths. Thus, therefore, spake the Russians and Tchouds, and Slavi, and Krywiczi, and all, 'Our land is great and fruitful, but we lack counsel. Come therefore hither, and thou shalt be our prince and govern us.' And they brought over three brethren with their kindred, and these had all Russia. And they came among the Slavi first and built the city Ladoga, and Riurik dwelt in old Ladoga, and the second Syneus dwelt with us at Biel-Osero, and the third Truvor at Isborsk; and since these Warags, Novogorod is called Russian land. These men of Novogorod are of Warag race, but before they were Slavonians (who dwelt there,) and they were so called until the time of Riurik. After two years died Syneus with his brother Truvor, and Riurik only had all the rule, and he came to the Ilmen, and he built a city on the Volchof and settled there to be a prince, and he called it Novogorod; and he gave lands to his men and built cities. One had Pultusk, one Rostof, one Biel-Osero. And in these cities the *new comers were called Warags*, but of Novogorod, the former citizens were Slavi, and of Poltosc, Krywiczi, and of Biel-Osero, Vessi." (Nestor apud Potocki, p. 208, et seq.)

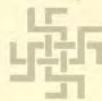
<sup>1</sup> Reiske. Comment, in vor. Varangi. ap. Stritter compared. Hist. Byz. tom. iv. p. 472. Codinus de Officiis, cap. viii. § 12.



Constantine Porphyrogenitus gives us the names of five cataracts on the Dnieper in the Russian language<sup>1</sup>, which bear considerable marks of their northern origin. The dialect of the majority soon, however, prevailed; and though the Finns still call the Russians by the name of Guda, or Goths, the modern Russian has lost all recollection of his kindred with the Swedes and Norwegians.

LIX.—I have adopted the plain unvarnished story of Nestor as to the original country of the Russians, and their establishment at Novogorod and Kief. His testimony is the earliest which we possess, and his character as a historian unimpeached. Nor is there any thing more probable than that the same valiant pirates who subdued France, England, and Ireland, should, about the same time, be making similar exertions on the side of Russia. Nor do I know any thing more explicit than the simple and almost Scriptural language of this father of Muscovite history. Yet, in the face of this direct evidence, there have been many modern writers who assign to the Russians a very different descent. The learned and diligent L'Evesque is, in this point, so far abandoned by his usual judgement, as to conclude that they were a race of Huns; and there are others who are equally positive in deriving them from a Slavonic origin. The first of these opinions, and which only deserves refutation as being the opinion of an author like L'Evesque, is founded on the following circumstances: Kief, as we have already seen, was anciently called Khunigard, the “city of the Huns;” and to prove that its founders were of that nation, *Kii*, the traditional name of its builder, is asserted to have no Slavonic meaning. 2dly, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, as well as Cadrenus and Zenaras, calls the inhabitants of Kief, Russians; and, 3dly, when Oleg, the regent of Novogorod during the minority of the sons of Ruric, was endeavouring to entrap the princes of Kief to a conference, he reminded them that they were of the same race with himself. 4thly, There is a passage in the chronicles of the monastery of St. Bertin for the year 839, in which the sovereign of

<sup>1</sup> The Russian names given by Constantine are very different from the Slavonic appellations which he also furnishes; but they are so much disguised by their Grecian dress as to make it very difficult to trace their resemblance to any known language. They are “Oulborsi,” probably “Wolver's Eoa,” or Wolverine's island, since the corresponding Slavonic word, Ostrobuni-pratch, implies there was an island at the place. 2. “Aiphar,” the corresponding Slavonic, which is “Neapit,” or Pelican's Nest, may lead us to render “Eya-far,” or Egg-ferry. 3. “Baruphorum” may be “Bar” or Bear-ferry. 4. “Leanti.” 5. “Stroubun.” Of these I can make no meaning which pleases me. The nautical terms of the Baltic may perhaps afford a clue to both.



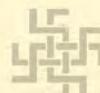
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the Russians is called “Chacanus,” which L’Evesque supposes to be the same with Chagan, or Khân, a title exclusively oriental. But, first, it is no uncommon circumstance that a town should receive a name from its occupants, as well as from its founders; and as the Huns must have been in possession of Kief for many years during the continuance of the empire founded by Attila, it is no wonder that the neighbouring Slavonians should call it after its occupants, whether it were built by the Huns or no. And though it be true, as L’Evesque observes, that the hill where the ancient Russian princes were buried is called “Ongorskaia Gory,” it is not so called because the Huns were buried there, but because the Hungarians, in the year 888, were encamped on it in their passage through the country. In whatever nation we are to seek for Kii’s parentage, it is plain that the Russians are not concerned in the question, since the city which he founded had flourished some centuries before the arrival of Askhold and Dir, who are described by Nestor as the first Russians who came thither. Secondly, when Constantine Porphyrogenitus speaks of Kief as inhabited by Russians, he evidently refers to the then ruling nation, in the latter part, that is, of the tenth century after Christ, who were undoubtedly Russians, and the descendants of those Warangians who came from the north with Askhold and Dir; but to say that these were Huns is nothing less than begging the question. And, thirdly, they were, these very Warangian chieftains, not the founders or original population, but the conquerors of Kief, whom the Regent Oleg called his kindred. So that, not only have we no good reason for supposing Kief to have been built by the Huns, but even granting that it were their work, and that the original population was Hunnish, the Russians were plainly a completely different people. The passage, lastly, in the Bertinian annals will not suffice to prove that the Russian sovereigns were anciently styled Khân; but, on the other hand, it very strongly confirms the account of Nestor, which fixes their former habitation in Sweden. Certain strangers, it informs us, who said they belonged to a nation named “Ros,” and had been sent “by their king, Chacan,” on a friendly message to the Emperor Theodosius at Constantinople, were recommended by this last to the German monarch, Lewis the Debonnaire, to be forwarded by him, through Germany, to their own country. They were ascertained by Lewis to belong to a Swedish tribe, and were, therefore, dismissed by him with much reluctance, under the impression that they were enemies both to the eastern and western empires. This happened in 839. And how rightly Lewis divined their motives for this em-

bassy to Constantinople is plain, when we find that, not many years after, the Swedish Warangians invaded Scythia in their way to the Euxine. And the fact of the Russians being originally from Sweden is thus, as it should seem, so strongly confirmed, that L'Evesque himself is obliged to have recourse to the strange supposition that some of the Huns might, by unknown means, (for they had no vessels,) and at some unknown period, have established themselves beyond the Gulph of Finland ; a notion to examine which would be little less absurd than to maintain it, if it did not lean on the supposed similarity of Chacan to Chagan. But Chacan (supposing it to be a title) may be a corruption of the Swedish "Kong," a king, as well as the Tartarian "Khân." It has, however, as Schlæzer observes, in the present passage, every appearance of being a proper name, and is probably no other than the well-known Scandinavian appellation, Hacan, or Haco.

LX.—The opinion that the Russians were of Slavonic race has been espoused under various modifications by some of the academicians of St. Petersburgh, and by the editor of L'Evesque, M. Malte Brun. The first, without contravening the positive assertion of Nestor, that the Russian Warangians came from Sweden, suppose that, as so large a proportion of the northern population of Germany and Prussia was Slavonic, it is not improbable that a sprinkling of kindred tribes may have existed also in Sweden ; and that of these the followers of Riuric might have been composed, whose language they supposed would have agreed better with the Slavonic tribes of Novogorod than the Gothic could have done. And they plead that the Gothic could not have been so completely lost in the Slavonic, as it is in the present Russian language. But there is, as will be shown hereafter, so great a similarity in radicals between the Gothic of Scandinavia and the Slavonic of the north, that these circumstances need cause no difficulty ; and for the rest, a hypothesis which is built entirely on possibilities need not take up any very long consideration, more especially as the expressions of Nestor imply that the Russian Warangians were of the same stock with those of Sweden, Germany, and England.

LXI.—M. Malte Brun attempts to show that the Russian Warangians received their distinctive name, not in Scandinavia, but after their residence in the north of Russia among a people of the same appellation, whom he identifies with the ancient Rhoxolani or Rhoxani, a name certainly applied by the anonymous geographer of Ravenna in the 9th century to a people bordering on the Baltic. But the similarity of the name on which M. Malte Brun lays considerable stress, is not sufficiently striking to serve as



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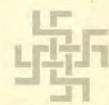
a foundation for a hypothesis contradicted by a historian so nearly contemporary as Nestor, who, certainly, if there be any force in language, describes the Russians as foreigners. And, as the above named geographer wrote some fifty years at least after the establishment of the Warangians on the southern shore of the gulph of Finland, we have too many examples of the custom, common with the Greeks, of misusing the names of nations, to doubt that he has applied in this place the character of the ancient Rhoxani, sojourners in the south of Russia, to a race very different in situation, but of which the patronymic was something similar. We have seen how vaguely and improperly the term of Scythian was applied by the Byzantine writers ; and the fancied resemblance between Rhoxani and Rossi was in itself sufficient to lead an author of this stamp to prefer the classical to the barbarous name, without examining or caring whether the first were properly applied or no. Secondly, however, M. Malte Brun (after expressing much contempt for those who give credit to the " traditions collected by Moses") assures us that it is in vain to seek after a foreign origin for the Russian people, since all great nations have been "Antoethones," or, at least, without any known origin. If he intends to signify that all great nations have from eternity, or from unknown antiquity, occupied the countries which they now inhabit, it is evident what new systems may be introduced by the judicious application of this rare historical canon. The Angles in Britain, the Turks in Greece, the English, Spanish, and Portuguese in America, (all of them at present pretty considerable nations), we must conclude are all without any known origin, or grew like plants from the soil ; and all which we have read of Hengist, Mahomet II., Columbus, and William Penn, are inventions of later ages, and equally vain with the " traditions collected by Moses." Or, if these nations do not deserve in his opinion the epithet of "great," there is one at least to which he will not refuse that magnificent title, which has been said to owe its present name, its laws, and its renown to a race of foreign adventurers. Clovis, however, we must hereafter suppose is a character entirely fabulous, and the Franks must have either grown out of the earth in Gaul, or at least have continued there from a period beyond the earliest "Aurora of History." So much for the historical intelligence of those who despise as fabulous or absurd "the traditions collected by Moses."

It may be thought then, on the whole, that no good reason has been given for deserting or interpolating the information afforded by Nestor ; and that the name of Russian was unknown in the east of Europe before the

time of the Warangian invasion. The Rhoxolani, I am willing to believe, from Strabo's account of them, were a numerous nation of Slavonians; but as we hear no more of them in any writer of authority for so many hundred years afterwards, it is impossible to decide on their probable fate, or their subsequent place of habitation. No such people, I apprehend, are mentioned by Jornandes among those whom the Goths encountered in their passage from the Baltic to the Euxine.

LXII.—The Slavonians or Sloveni, with whom the Russians thus coalesced, were a branch of that great family whose language is diffused through the several tribes of Wends, Poles, Prussians, Muscovites, Bohemians, Moravians, Bosnians, Croatians, Servians, and Cossaks. All these nations at the present day, however distant their homes, understand and converse with each other, on first meeting, with surprizing readiness and fluency; and, notwithstanding the various distinctive appellations which they have adopted, acknowledge the name of Slavon as the common term for all. This word, according to Gibbon, and most other writers on the subject, was, with the usual pride of barbarians, derived from the Slavonic word "Slav," glory or renown. But as in the oldest Chronicles the word is not "Slavoni," but "Sloveni," and as at the present day, all those who do not speak their language are called by them "Nemitzi," or "Silent," it is probable that "*the speaking race*" would be the term by which they would most naturally distinguish themselves, and that the root from which their name is taken is "Slovo," a "speech or discourse." The same learned theorists who have deduced so many of the western nations of Europe from the Scythians, have, with equal positiveness, and, perhaps, with as little reason, assumed that the Slavonians are of Sarmatic race. But as we know that the Sarmatians spoke a dialect of the Scythian language, it should seem that the difference between this last and the Slavonian, is a very strong proof against such a relationship. And it is remarkable that the ancient names of all the principal rivers of Scythia, instead of bearing marks of a Slavonic original, have no consistent meaning in any dialect of that language, and either prove by their Celtic derivations that they were imposed by the original Cwmraeg, or belong to some language to which modern Europe is altogether a stranger<sup>1</sup>. The language, indeed, as well

<sup>1</sup> It would be perhaps most natural to expect that the etymology of rivers and other features of nature should be found in the language of the first occupants; and that, as the Celts were, doubtless, first in possession of Scythia, the names of these objects should be traced to Celtic. Accordingly, we find that Don, Doon or Tan, the Celtic for a wave or stream, is



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as the mythology of the Slavonians<sup>1</sup>, would lead us to place them among the most ancient European tribes, and those most nearly connected with

found as the common appellation of the Scythian waters of the Donetz or Tanais, the Don, the Danapies or Dnieper, the Danastris or Dnieper, or the Donau or Danube itself. Thus the Danapies is, apparently, Tanau-brys, the "river of rapids," and Danastris, Tan-astrys, "the winding stream." Don-au is the union of two words of nearly the same meaning, in the same manner as Dywr-don-wy is the ancient name for the Dee. Ister, or Isder, the name given to the lower Danube, has also, in Celtic, a corresponding signification. In Russian and Slavonian, none of these names have any meaning; though Dno, I have been told, signifies "a bottom," or "a shallow,"—surely no appropriate name to such deep and mighty waters as those in question. L'Evesque, indeed, attempts to derive Borysthenes from "Bor," a fir-tree, and "Stanitzi," a wall, or fortified village; a strange name for any river, more especially for one the banks of which are by no means well clothed with timber. But Borysthenes is, apparently, the same with Danapies inverted; and may be resolved, like that, into Brys-Don-wy, or Brys-Don-aw. For this new light on Scythian etymology, I am chiefly indebted to my friend Mr. Bernard Bosanquet\*, who, though not of Celtic extraction, has studied their language and antiquities with a zeal and success which few of even the genuine Britons have surpassed.

<sup>1</sup> The following are the names of the principal Slavonic divinities, taken from L'Evesque, and the more ancient authority of Strikowsky, (*Kronica Macieia*) and Duysburg (*Chronicon Prussiae*). The reader will not fail to observe their close correspondence with the superstitions of Greece and India. Peroun was Jupiter the thunderer. Koupalo, Saturn, or Belus, honoured with bonfires and rejoicings every midsummer-eve. Lada was Venus, and Leliu, or Cupid, was her son. Trigliva was Hecate Triformis, as the Slavonian name implies. And Zenovia, a huntress, answering to Diana. Svetovid, "the holy seer," was Apollo, to whom horses were consecrated; and who appears to have been gradually metamorphosed into St. Vitus, a saint who has received much popular homage in the north, though his name appears nowhere in the calendar. Znitch was Vesta, the deity of fire: Ziemennik, the god of the earth, or Pluto: Tzar Morski, "sea-king," answered to Neptune. There was also a Tchoudo-Morskoe, "seamonster," corresponding to the Triton of the Greeks, and the Kelpie and Noëck of the north. The Rousalki were nymphs, beautiful and amorous, inhabitants of the woods and waters; and the Lecky were the satyrs, compounded of the goat and the human figure, sportive and mischievous, and still greatly dreaded by the Malo-Russian girls, who believe that they lurk in the bushes to seize on females, whom they are accused of *tickling to death*. A strange and singularly wild custom, apparently connected with this superstition, prevailed in the province of Kief so late as the beginning of the last century. On certain holydays it was the custom of every village, for all its inhabitants, high and low, from the lord to the slave, to dance together on the green which generally environs them. On these occasions it was the privilege of the young men, from time immemorial, to rush forward dressed in skins, and, with loud cries, to carry off any one damsels whom they could catch, or who pleased their fancy, whom they consigned to one of their number in the covert of the nearest wood. If

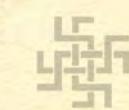
\* Now, 1830, The Hon. Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, judge of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas.

the Greeks and Romans ; and it furnishes, as will be seen in the Appendix, a more satisfactory link between these last and the Gothic dialects, than any other with which we are acquainted<sup>1</sup>. In manners, too, the same

the ravisher could conceal her there for twenty-four hours, he was entitled to a free pardon, and was generally married to his prize. But his life depended on his success ; since, if he were overtaken by the friends of the female during his flight, or discovered in his lurking-place before the stated time was over, his head was cut off without mercy or any form of trial. Even the daughters of the lord of the manor were liable to this risk, though, it may be presumed, they were generally pretty well guarded. Of the Tchoudo-Morskoë the same stories, nearly, are told, as are related in Norway and Scotland of the Noëck or Kelpie. To Ziemennik, the god of the earth, snakes were consecrated ; and a large black snake is often, at the present day, the inmate of a Podolian cottage, which is fed carefully with eggs and milk, and is the harmless favourite of the children. The utility of such a domestic is, indeed, one probable motive for the protection which he receives. The earthen floors of the houses in these countries are, in spring, continually visited by frogs and toads. At Odessa, in the best inn of the city, I was often obliged, on leaving my bed of a morning, to use great caution in avoiding a collision between my naked feet and these disgusting "contubernales." One of the sacred snakes of Ziemennik would soon have cleared the premises.

<sup>1</sup> The frequent occurrence of Greek and Latin words in the various Slavonian dialects, is obvious to all who visit the east of Europe ; and it is the more remarkable, because these regions have not, like the Celtic countries of the west, been subject to the Roman empire, and because their religious intercourse with Rome or Constantinople can have had but little effect on the familiar language of a country, where writing and reading are, among the common people, very rare accomplishments. The following parallels are selected from words of the most common occurrence ; and some of them are very remarkable links between the dialects of the north and south.

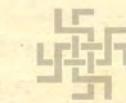
Slavonic.	Latin.	English.
Grad . . . . .	Grando . . . . .	Hail
Plamia . . . . .	Flamma . . . . .	Flame
Glyba . . . . .	Gleba . . . . .	Clod
Loutch . . . . .	Lux . . . . .	Light
Lieva . . . . .	Sinistra . . . . .	The left hand . . . . . <i>λατος</i>
Swon . . . . .	Senus . . . . .	Sound . . . . . Suono ( <i>Italian</i> )
Notch . . . . .	Nox . . . . .	Night . . . . . <i>νυξ</i> Nôs ( <i>Celtic</i> )
Voda . . . . .	Vadum . . . . .	Water . . . . . <i>νδωρ</i> — <i>νδαρος</i> Vatn ( <i>Swedish</i> )
Vetr . . . . .	Ventus . . . . .	Wind . . . . . Wetter, a storm, ( <i>German</i> )
More . . . . .	Mare . . . . .	Sea
Noss . . . . .	Nasus . . . . .	Nose
Sol . . . . .	Sal . . . . .	Salt
Semia . . . . .	Semen . . . . .	Seed
Gorod, or Grad . . . . .	A town . . . . .	Gard ( <i>Swedish</i> )
Gosti, or Hosti . . . . .	Hostis . . . . .	Stranger, or enemy,—of old synonymous terms.
Rad (Nestor) . . . . .	Rede, or counsel. <i>Ρητωρ</i>	Rad ( <i>Swedish</i> )



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general difference from Scythian or Sarmatic habits (and that these two were similar can hardly, I apprehend, be denied) will be found to have

<i>Slavonic.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Novo . . . . .	Novus . . . . .	New
Malo . . . . .	Malus ? . . . .	Little, paltry
Ovsta . . . . .	Ovis . . . . .	A sheep
Osel (pronounced Asel)	Asellus . . . . .	Ass . . . . . <i>Œsel (German)</i>
Swenia . . . . .	Sus, suillus . . .	Swine
Dom . . . . .	Domus . . . . .	Home . . . . . <i>Δομος</i>
Sinapi . . . . .	Sinape . . . . .	Mustard . . . . . <i>Σιναπι</i> Sennep ( <i>German</i> )
Muitch . . . . .	Mus . . . . .	Mouse
Dalgo . . . . .	. . . . .	Long . . . . . <i>δολιχος</i>
Verona . . . . .	Cornix . . . . .	Crow . . . . . <i>κορωνις</i>
Golub . . . . .	Columba . . . . .	Dove
Pubatz (Polish)	Bubo . . . . .	An owl
Gus . . . . .	. . . . .	Goose
Oko . . . . .	Oculus . . . . .	Eye . . . . . <i>Occhi (Italian)</i> Auge ( <i>German</i> )
Solntze . . . . .	Sol . . . . .	Sun . . . . . Sonne ( <i>German</i> )
Liona . . . . .	Luna . . . . .	Moon
Den . . . . .	Dies, diurnus . . .	Day . . . . . <i>δην, δηναιος</i> long ago, many days
Vetcher . . . . .	Vesper . . . . .	Evening . . . . . <i>έσπερος</i>
Mesetz . . . . .	Mensis . . . . .	Month . . . . . <i>Μην.—μεις (Æolice)</i>
Sniet . . . . .	. . . . .	Snow . . . . . Snee ( <i>Swedish</i> )
Reka . . . . .	. . . . .	River . . . . . <i>ῥεω, fluo</i>
Zemli . . . . .	. . . . .	Earth . . . . . Zemin ( <i>Persian</i> )
Oden . . . . .	. . . . .	One . . . . . <i>έν</i>
Dva . . . . .	Duo . . . . .	Two . . . . . <i>ένο</i> Dou ( <i>Persian</i> )
Tre . . . . .	Tres, tria . . .	Three . . . . . <i>τρεις, τρια</i>
Tchetera . . . . .	. . . . .	Four . . . . . <i>τεσσαρα, τεταρτος</i> Ciar ( <i>Persian</i> )
Pet . . . . .	. . . . .	Five . . . . . <i>πεντε</i>
Tchest . . . . .	Sex . . . . .	Six . . . . . <i>έξ</i> Schesh ( <i>Persian</i> )
Sedm . . . . .	Septem . . . . .	Seven
Deciat . . . . .	Decem . . . . .	Ten . . . . . <i>δεκα</i>
Esm . . . . .	Sum . . . . .	I am . . . . . <i>ειμι. εσμι (Dorice)</i> Em ( <i>Persian</i> )
Essi . . . . .	Es . . . . .	Thou art . . . . . <i>εστι (Dorice)</i>
Est . . . . .	Est . . . . .	He is . . . . . <i>εστι</i> Est ( <i>Persian</i> )
Sout . . . . .	Sunt . . . . .	They are
Proch! . . . . .	Procul . . . . .	Away, off!
Stati . . . . .	Stare . . . . .	To stand
Sedeti . . . . .	Sedere . . . . .	To sit
Dai . . . . .	Da . . . . .	Give me
Padite . . . . .	Vadere . . . . .	To go away
Videti . . . . .	Videre . . . . .	To see
Pasti . . . . .	Pascere, Pastus	To feed

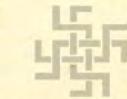


existed in all the tribes of Slavons, which I have already pointed out in the case of the Greeks, Goths, and Thracians; the same distinctions of stationary, though simple dwellings; of attachment to husbandry and maritime affairs; the use, too, of the large shield in war, and equal agility on foot, are ascribed to the Slavonians, as to the other tribes of the west. And so striking were these distinctions to contemporary writers, that the Venedi or Wends, who are known to have been Slavonians, and the Bastarnæ, Penci, and Rhoxolani, whom, as will be proved immediately, there is every reason to consider as such, were referred, both by Tacitus and Strabo, to the German rather than to the Sarmatic nation.

<i>Slavonic.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Mogu . . . . .	I may . . . . .	Ich möge ( <i>German</i> )
Ia . . . . .	Ego . . . . .	I . . . . . Jag ( <i>Swedish</i> )
Mene . . . . .	Mei . . . . .	Mine (genitive)
Tui . . . . .	Tu . . . . .	Thou
On . . . . .	. . . . .	He . . . . . Han ( <i>Swedish</i> )
Evo . . . . .	Ejus . . . . .	His
Emu (dative) . . . . .	. . . . .	Him
Moi (adj.) . . . . .	Meus . . . . .	Mine
Moia . . . . .	Mea . . . . .	
Moe . . . . .	Meum . . . . .	
Svoi . . . . .	Suuus . . . . .	His
Tvoi . . . . .	Tuuus . . . . .	Thine
Toi . . . . .	. . . . .	That . . . . . οὐτος
Covo . . . . .	Cujus . . . . .	Whose
Arou . . . . .	Avo . . . . .	I plough
Plyvon . . . . .	. . . . .	I sail . . . . . πλεω
Pepton . . . . .	. . . . .	I cook . . . . . πεπτω
Po . . . . .	. . . . .	Upon . . . . . Pâa ( <i>Swedish</i> )

These words are taken from the Russian dialect of Slavonia. L'Evesque gives many more; but I admitted none which had not fallen under my own knowledge, and rejected several which might be reasonably supposed of foreign growth, and introduced by the intercourse of the Russians with other nations. Those who wish to see the strong points of resemblance between the grammar of the Russians and the Greeks and Latins, may consult the short treatise of that most extraordinary linguist, Henry Wilhelm Ludolf, (Oxon, 1696.) The foregoing specimen may, however, serve to show the importance of the Slavonic dialects to those who wish to trace the connection between the northern and southern languages of Europe; and may prove that the settlement of the Slavonians in the west must have been much earlier than the time which is generally assigned to them.

The verb substantive *esm*, *essi*, *est*, is pronounced as if it were written *jesm*, *jessi*, *jest*; on which L'Evesque remarks, that Cicero, (De Oratore iii. 4.) assures us that it was accounted elegant among the Romans thus to pronounce the E as if a J preceded it.



LXIII.—Again, we find many tribes of Slavonic extraction in situations, whither it requires a very ardent love of hypothesis to suppose that the Sarmatians were likely to penetrate. They occupied, at a very early period, Lusatia, Pomerania, and the Isle of Rugen. The Carni are placed by Strabo in their present country of Carniola; the Save and Drave bore, in the time of that geographer, their modern Slavonic appellations. The language of Pannonia and the Osi was different, according to Tacitus, from both German and Sarmatic; and the ancient names of places in Illyria, afford, according to the learned and cautious Dolci, many remarkable proofs that their primitive occupants were Slavonians. Now the irruption of the Sarmatians into Europe must have been preceded by the conquest of the Scythians; and neither the one or the other of these events is placed by learned men much earlier than the Christian era. How, then, was it possible that so close on this event, the Sarmatians could have penetrated so far as the provinces bordering on the Adriatic, or have given names to the rivers of Pannonia. But further, Jornandes, the Gothic historian, describes all Poland from the Baltic to the Carpathian mountains, as being occupied, previous to the irruption of the Goths, by nations of Slavonic descent; and this description must, therefore, have included the Bastarnæ and Pencini, who, as well as the Rhoxolani, are effectually distinguished by Strabo from the Sarmatians; and who are, by the same authority of Jornandes, shown, in opposition to Mr. Pinkerton, to have been, not of Gothic but of Slavonic ancestry. And though we cannot say, with equal certainty that the Getæ and Thracians were also Slavonic, yet as a Slavonic population was found by the Magyars extending over the whole of Pannonia, it cannot seem improbable that this had always been the case; and that the tribes bordering on the Ister were the same with those of the Drave. I have already remarked the pedantry of the Byzantine writers, and the frequent impropriety with which they applied the names of ancient to modern nations; and on that account I lay very little stress on the testimony of Cantacuzenus and Theodoret, of whom the first repeatedly calls the Slavonians, Triballi, and the second asserts that they were the same people who were anciently named Getæ. It is of somewhat more importance that Procopius places the paternal seat of the Slavi on the Danube. The name of Veneti, Feneti, or Venidæ, is of known Slavonic origin, applying perfectly to the situation, not only of the Wends on the furthest edge of the north, but to the ancient Eneti or Venetians at the extremity of western Thrace; and if we suppose (what cannot be con-

sidered as an extravagant opinion) that these last were of the same stock with the neighbouring Carni, and, perhaps, with the Vindelici, not only is a kindred fully made out between the Thracians and the Slavons, but the origin of both from a very different race from either Scythians or Sauromatæ, is established by the clearest evidence, and a new and very important light is thrown on the remarkable connection between the Latin and Slavonic languages. For the Veneti and Tyrseni, tribes of Asia Minor, the kindred of the Phrygians and Thracians, emigrated about the same period from their former habitations; the one through Thrace to the north of Italy; the other by sea to its western coast, where they established the Etruscan republic<sup>1</sup>. It should seem, then, that the same Slavonic language, which now prevails in the north and west of Thrace, has at every period, since the dawn of history, existed there; and it is possible that it is by this channel, as the intervening link between the Greeks and Goths, and orientals, that we have the best chance of tracing those derivations which have been noticed as common to all.

LXIV.—To verify this conjecture, a more accurate and ample collection is required of Getic, Phrygian, Thracian, and Dacian words than any which has been yet attempted. Had we those Getic hexameters and pentameters which Ovid recited with so much applause to the warlike tribes of the Danube, how much labour might be saved to contending antiquaries. Yet may this circumstance lead us to identify the language of the Getæ with the Slavonian rather than with the Gothic tongue; since the former is more likely to have complied with the rules of Latin prosody, than any dialect of the latter with which I am acquainted. The language of Ulphila would limp strangely ill on Roman feet. But to whatever extent the above hypothesis be carried, enough has been said to prove, at least, that the Slavons were not a Sarmatian colony; and those warlike savages, like their Scythian kindred, instead of usurping the name of the great colonists of Europe, must be contented hereafter with the humble renown of having invaded and wandered over a very moderate portion of its surface.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, L. xi.

<sup>2</sup> “ Ah pudet, et Getico scripsi sermone libellum,  
Structaque sunt nostris barbara verba modis.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Hæc ubi non patria perlegi scripta Camœna,  
Venit et ad digitos ultima charta meos,  
Et caput, et plenas omnes movere pharetras,  
Et longum Getico murmur in ore fuit.”

*Epist. de Pont.* L. iv. E. 10.



## BOOK II.

THE Warangian chieftains, Askhold and Dir, had scarcely established themselves in Kief, than, with the characteristic restlessness of northern pirates, they meditated a more important expedition<sup>1</sup>. From Kief to the Euxine, the course of the Dnieper offers a short and obvious communication; and the thirteen cataracts of this beautiful river were not obstacles which could deter the mariners of Scandinavia, whose light canoes were easily carried over land, whenever such a step was necessary, on the shoulders of their crews<sup>2</sup>. The circumstances of this navigation and of these *portages*, (of which the principal danger arose from the attacks of the neighbouring Patzinacitæ,) are sufficiently detailed by L'Evesque and Gibbon<sup>3</sup>; but neither has noticed that the form of the Warangian vessels of the ninth century, on the Dnieper, exactly answered to the description given by Tacitus of the boats employed in his time to carry the Scandinavians from one island to another. For these boats, which were only made of willow and beech, covered with leather, the banks of the Dnieper afforded sufficient materials; and Askhold, leaving Dir at Kief to secure their recent conquest, set out with the greater part of his Warangians to attack Constantinople. His voyage was prosperous, and he had almost succeeded in his object, when a sudden storm, imputed to the exhibition of a consecrated garment which had adorned an image of the Virgin Mary, destroyed a part of his fleet<sup>4</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Nestor.

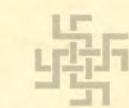
<sup>2</sup> The marvellous voyage and tedious *portages* of Mr. Mackenzie, in North America, fully vindicate the truth not only of the similar exertions made by the Russians, but of the still more extraordinary transportation of the Argo from the Danube to the Adriatic, and

Quicquid Græcia mendax

Audet in historia.

<sup>3</sup> L'Evesque, Hist. de Russie, tom. i. pp. 107, 108. Gibbon.

<sup>4</sup> Gibbon.



and Askhold, either alarmed or weakened, solicited baptism, and retired from his prey. Fifteen years afterwards, the two sovereigns of Kief were invited to a friendly conference by Oleg, prince of Novogorod, to whom Ruric, on his death-bed, had bequeathed his sovereignty and the guardianship of his infant son<sup>1</sup>. They attended without scruple, but were instantly seized and murdered by their treacherous host<sup>2</sup>, on pretence that, not being of Ruric's blood, they had presumed to exercise sovereignty over a part of the Russian people. The murderer took possession of their city without opposition, and leaving his ward, young Igor, in Kief, set out himself on a second expedition against Constantinople. This was more fortunate than the former, if we believe the Russian chronicles; and the Emperor Leo was glad to purchase the retreat of his invaders at the rate of twelve pounds of gold to every ship. A treaty of commerce was, at the same time, ratified between the Greeks and Russians, to the faithful observance of which, the latter swore on their swords, and by the gods "Peroun and Voloss<sup>3</sup>." In fact, a very considerable trade in slaves, honey, fish, hemp, and furs, was at this time carried on between the Slavonians and their southern neighbours, and, far more than these pillaging excursions, brought to the Russian nation a degree of wealth, which made it long an object of envy and wonder to the remoter tribes of the north and west. This second Russian invasion is not, however, noticed by the Byzantine writers<sup>4</sup>, and it is, therefore, probable that its importance is greatly exaggerated. It is, indeed, impossible to believe the chronicles which give to Oleg two thousand barks, and eighty thousand men: the whole united nation of Warangians could not have furnished so great a multitude.

II.—But though Oleg was thus formidable at Constantinople, he was himself exposed to considerable danger at home, by the arrival of the tremendous swarm of Finnic nations, who, under the common name of Hungarians, or Magyar, advanced from the east, in their way to the country which they now inhabit<sup>5</sup>. Of these formidable passengers, the Russians merely record that they formed a camp, "drawing up their waggons after the manner of the Polotzi," on the hill near Kief, where the Russian princes were afterwards buried, and which still preserves, from these "Ougurs,"

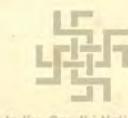
<sup>1</sup> Nestor.

<sup>2</sup> L'Evesque.

<sup>3</sup> Voloss is the Scandinavian Pan, the guardian of flocks and herds. The custom of swearing by the sword was, as we have already seen, familiar to so many nations, that it cannot be considered as any mark of descent.

<sup>4</sup> Gibbon.

<sup>5</sup> Nestor.



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the name of "Ourgoraskaia Gory." Of their further exploits, they only tell us that they passed over the mountains towards the Danube, and subdued the Slavonians and Vlachi, who inhabited its vicinity. The Hungarian annals give a very different account, and speak of a bloody battle fought between their tribes and the united army of Russians and Cumani; of an annual tribute imposed on the dukes of Kief; of hostages given for its due performance; and of the emigration of great part of the Cumanian nation, in company with these new warriors of the east. But the Cumani, we know, had not then left their original habitation on the Caspian; and this error, on so material a part of their history, must naturally throw considerable doubt over the remainder, though it be not equally impossible. On the whole, from the testimony of the Russians, compared with that of the Hungarians, it may seem that the former were content, by presents and submission, to purchase the peaceable departure of these warlike visitors; and that, for this time at least, they escaped the storm of invasion by bowing the head, and letting it pass over. Oleg himself, after a prosperous reign of three-and-thirty years, died in consequence of the bite of a serpent; and the crowns of Kief and Novogorod descended to his pupil, Igor, son of Ruric.

III.—Igor is chiefly remarkable for his two attempts against Constantinople, of which Gibbon has given an account, and which terminated, as usual, in a costly present to the invaders, and a new treaty of commerce between them and the Greeks. The curse denounced against those who should violate this truce is curious, as uniting the terrors of the Christian and heathen divinities, and therefore proving that many among the Russians had already embraced the true faith. "If a Russian break the peace, if he be baptized, let him be damned in this world, and in the world to come; if not baptized, let him have no help either from God or Peroun; let his shield fail him in time of need, and let him be a slave evermore in this world, and in the world to come!" An article of the same treaty provides that whenever the Greek emperor stood in need of mercenary troops, he should have full liberty of recruiting among the Russians; and we find, accordingly, that henceforth the Byzantine sovereigns were always surrounded by numbers of these hardy northern youths, who flocked from Russia, Scandinavia, and England, to the high wages and easy duties of a praetorian guard.

A.D. 945.

IV.—Igor fell in an ambush of the revolted Dreolians; and his widow, Olga, took the sceptre at the unanimous request of both Warangians and

Slavons. Her reign is distinguished by the visit which she paid to Constantinople, under far different circumstances from those of her predecessors—in the habit of peace, and to receive the grace of baptism; her sponsors being Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his empress. Olga is highly praised for her beauty, which procured her the title of “*Precrasna*,” “most ruddy;” and which, if we believe an ancient Russian chronicle<sup>1</sup>, first raised her from the rank of a slave to that of a princess. It was her original and humble occupation to ferry passengers over a stream<sup>2</sup>, and Igor happened to pass that way. He was struck with her beauty, and still more astonished at a virtue which was at once proof against temptation and menaces. He left her, but it was not long before he returned to the ferry with the offer of his hand, and the succession to the crown. The Warangians and Slavons had insisted that their future sovereign should marry. Oleg left him to his choice, and his choice had already fallen on the young and ruddy boat-woman. From Olga some of the later Russian historians date the conversion of their country. In truth, however, it appears, from the testimony of Nestor, that she neither built Churches, nor even ventured to profess Christianity publicly. Sviatoslav, her son and successor, resisted all her efforts to convince or persuade him; and it appears from his answer, “Wouldest thou that my companions should mock me?” that the religion of the Greeks and the example of an old woman were, at that time, in little honour among the warlike youth of Russia. In truth, it may be thought that Olga herself, however anxious after Christian knowledge, was not altogether satisfied with the instruction which she received. As if displeased with the Greek Church, she sent ambassadors to Otho, emperor of Germany, to request from him some Latin ecclesiastics. One Adelbert was sent, with some companions but their reception in Kief was not such as to induce them to continue in their mission.

V.—The savage virtues of Sviatoslav, the son of Igor and Olga, have been celebrated by all historians. The rudeness of the Scandinavian pirate was united in him to that of the Tartar. He slept, during his military expeditions, on the ground and without a tent; and was often contented with a repast of horse-flesh broiled on the coals. His whole life was one continued campaign, and in its commencement he was highly successful. Though the Chozares still retained possession of the Crimea,

A.D. 968.

<sup>1</sup> *Kniga Stephannaia*, cited by L'Evesque, tom. I. p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Among many of the northern nations the office of a *ferry-man* is unknown; the use of the oar is, on these occasions, always entrusted to women.



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Sviatoslav succeeded in destroying their power on the continent; and by the capture of their principal city, Sarcel or Bula-Vesh, extended his eastern boundary as far as the Don. On his return from this expedition he chastized the Petchenegui or Patzinacitæ, who, during his absence, had insulted Kief. This warlike people, who are now first noticed in the history of Scythia, had, during the weakness of the Chozares, assumed the lead among the most formidable enemies of the Russian princes. On the present occasion, however, their resistance does not appear to have been either protracted or formidable, since we find Sviatoslav the following year peaceably attending the death-bed of his mother, and two years afterwards, setting out on the great expedition against the Danubian provinces in which he had conceived the design to fix his seat of empire, or to which he had been, according to the Byzantine historians, invited by the emperor Nicephorus Phocas, who was engaged in a war with the Bulgarians. The termination of this campaign is variously told. If we believe the Russians, Sviatoslav was always triumphant; but the Greeks, with more apparent reason, assert that John Zimisces, the successor of Nicephorus, defeated him in several successive engagements, and forced him, with a handful of men, and in wretched condition, to direct his march back again to Kief. But this measure was no longer in his power. The Patzinacitæ, never tamed, and lately irritated, were not likely to miss such an opportunity of revenge; and taking post in the neighbourhood of the cataract, opposed his passage up the Dnieper. After struggling some time with famine (for in that desert situation no supplies were to be obtained) Sviatoslav, at last, at the head of his little army attempted to force a way through his enemies. He fell in the effort, and his skull, adorned with a circle of gold, was, during many years, the favourite drinking cup of the Patzinacitæ sovereigns.

VI.—The short reign of Sviatoslav was, in most respects, a misfortune to his people. His savage thirst after martial renown impeded their progress in the arts of peace: his restless expeditions wasted their strength and population; and the custom which he introduced of dividing the Russian monarchy into different appanages amongst his children, was, in the very first instance, hurtful to the state, and was eventually the cause of its temporary ruin. Yet, notwithstanding the wars which, immediately on his death, arose among his sons, the princes of Kief, of Novogorod, and of the Dreolians, the boundary of Russia became daily more extensive. Volodimir of Novogorod, by the assistance of a fresh Warangian swarm, subdued, on

the one side, Rogvold, prince of Pultusk ; and, on the other, pushed his hunting or slave-trading parties to the passes of the Uralian mountains. Aided by his northern allies, he at length succeeded in reuniting all the different members of the Russian sovereignty into one, though he purchased their success by the murder of his brother Jaropolk, who had himself previously stained his hands with the blood of the youngest of the three, Oleg, prince of Dreolia. The sons of Sviatoslav were as bloody in their idolatry as in their ambition. Volodimir celebrated his victory by the sacrifice of all his prisoners at the altar of Peroun, and by the martyrdom of two Warangian Christians, a father and son, who were regarded as still more acceptable victims to the father of the gods. But neither these horrible rites (which are in themselves, perhaps, the proof of a mind not perfectly at ease) nor the splendid temples and images which he reared to the whole calendar of Slavonic or Scandinavian deities, had power to relieve his conscience from the weight of a brother's blood. Dissatisfied with the little comfort which his own religion afforded him, he consulted the priests of all the neighbouring nations, the Mahomedans of Great Bulgaria, the Jews, who have for so many centuries remained as a distinct community on an inaccessible rock in the Crimea, and the Christians of the Latin and Greek communions. Of these, the last prevailed ; and the splendid and touching ceremonies of Easter, which the Russian merchants were in the habit of beholding at Constantinople, from their accounts, made so great an impression on Volodimir, that he lost no time in embracing so picturesque a faith, which was further recommended by the example of his grandmother, Olga.

A.D. 986.

VII.—A strange story is told by L'Evesque, on the authority of the Russian chronicles, which Gibbon has the discretion to omit, though it pretty much resembles, in character and authority, many which he has inserted. Volodimir, disdaining to ask as a favour of the emperor of Constantinople, Basil, that he would send him priests to convert himself and his people, resolved to conquer such spiritual instructors by the force of arms, and laid siege to Cherson. That celebrated and ancient republic had, during all the revolutions of Scythia, preserved a doubtful freedom, and a connexion with the other Greeks; and now, though the Chozares, Patzinacitæ, and Russians contested, with various fortune, the possession of the northern and eastern plains of the Crimea, it appears to have possessed in full sovereignty the little rocky peninsula on which it stands, and which was divided from the territory of the Chozares by a strong intrenchment from Inkerman to Baluclava. Against this position, naturally one of the

A.D. 988.

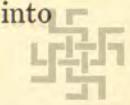


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strongest in the world, the Russian art of war could avail little; but a treacherous monk revealed to the besiegers the place whence the city derived its sole supply of water by a subterraneous channel from the neighbouring mountains; and, this intercepted, Cherson soon surrendered. Volodimir was previously in possession of the isle of Taman and the peninsula of Kertch; and this conquest appeared to secure to him the peaceable possession of the whole Crimea. Elevated by his success, he demanded of the Greek emperor, not only bishops and priests to instruct and baptize him, but the princess Anne, the sister of Basil, as his wife. The marriage and the baptism were celebrated together within his conquest of Cherson; and, with a singular generosity, the new convert, Basil, (for such was the name which he received at the font, though history still continues to call him Volodimir,) restored Cherson to his brother-in-law, and contented himself with carrying off its brazen gates, as an ornament to the Church which he designed to build in Novogorod.

VIII.—It is not, however, easy to discover why, if Volodimir had so great an objection to ask for spiritual instructors from the Byzantine emperor, he should at last have recourse to a measure which he had taken such pains to avoid; and at a time when, being in possession of more than one Grecian city, besides Cherson, he had abundance both of bishops, priests, and monks, among his own subjects. There is also a considerable doubt as to the town which was the scene of this extraordinary conversion. L'Evesque makes it Caffa, which was, however, a place at that time of too much insignificance to answer the description given of it; and Peyssonel is of opinion that it was Koslof. The brazen gates of the Church of St. Sophia in Novogorod, which were long shown as relics of this expedition, are now ascertained not to be of Greek, but of German workmanship, and the gift of the Hanse Towns to Novogorod the Great, when she joined their alliance. On the whole, I am inclined to doubt the fact that Volodimir was ever in possession either of Cherson or Caffa; and to suspect that his expedition into the Crimea was against the Chozares, not the Greeks, and in alliance with the emperor and the Chersonites; and it may seem further probable that the hand of the princess Anne was the price paid by the court of Constantinople to a new convert and a useful ally.

IX.—Volodimir celebrated his change of religion by various absurd but harmless tokens of abhorrence for that of his ancestors. Peroun, to whom, a few years before, he had erected splendid temples both in Novogorod and Kief, was dragged from his shrine, beaten with clubs, and thrown into



the Volchof at the former city, and into the Dnieper at the latter. But the men of Novgorod, who had not received with equal faith the new religion which their sovereign recommended to them, related how, after their idol had been sunk in the stream, it rose again in a menacing attitude, and flinging a cudgel on the shore, exclaimed, "Ye men of Novgorod, I leave you this in token of remembrance." In consequence of this curse, it was believed that every midsummer eve, the day on which Peroun had been worshipped, the youths of Novgorod were seized with a temporary madness, and ran through the streets with cudgels in their hands, inflicting on each other, and on all passengers, the annual vengeance of the de-throned demon. This custom, which, as L'Evesque observes, was "too foolish not to continue a long time<sup>1</sup>," was finally suppressed about the beginning of the last century.

X.—Volodimir had, before his conversion, five regular wives and no less than eight hundred concubines; but, on his marriage with the princess Anne, he is said to have dismissed them all. Among them was Rognieda, daughter of Rogvold, Prince of Pultusk, a Scandinavian chieftain, who had established himself in Livonia about the same time that Ruric was invited into Russia. Her history is melancholy and interesting. She was renowned for her beauty all over the North, and was courted by the two princes of Novgorod and Kief at the same time. But the haughty damsel recollects that Volodimir was only the natural son of Sviatoslav, and her choice, therefore, fell on his younger brother, Jaropolk. "It shall not be said," in allusion to a marriage ceremony common through all the north, "that the daughter of Rogvold loosed the sandal of the son of a slave." Her determination was followed by the invasion of Pultusk by Volodimir, by the death of her father in battle, and by the murder, as we have seen, of her favoured lover, Jaropolk: and she was herself constrained to become the queen of her greatest enemy. Such a marriage was not likely to bring happiness; and after many years, as Rognieda was in bed, she thought over all the injuries she had received, and was irresistibly tempted to revenge them on the tyrant who slept by her side. She rose from the bed to search for her husband's dagger; the noise she made awaked him; perceiving her attitude, he sprang up, wrested the weapon from her more feeble grasp, and was about, in his turn, to plunge it into her bosom, when their little son, who slept near them, stretched out his arms and uttered a piercing cry. The chord of natural feeling was touched

<sup>1</sup> L'Evesque, tom. i. p. 173.



in both parents; Volodimir threw down the dagger, and both together ran to embrace their innocent offspring. What became of Rognieda later in life we are not told<sup>1</sup>.

XI.—We have hitherto seen the foul and bloody side of Volodimir's character. But such is the power of Christianity, even in its most superstitious and corrupted form, that this wild boar of the wood was completely tamed; and by the subsequent exertions of a long life in the service of his people and the mastery of himself, he gave the best possible evidence that his repentance and conversion were sincere. His liberality to the poor was unbounded; and in the establishment of schools, hospitals, colonies, and courts of justice, he displayed a talent equal to his zeal, and laid the foundations of an edifice of civilization and public happiness little inferior to the institutions of our own great Alfred, and which might have brought forth equal fruits, but for the subsequent invasion of the Tartars. His attachment to Christianity was ardent; but we have no reason to believe that he ever used persecution to bring over his subjects to his own way of thinking. It is probable that many of them were, like other barbarians, well-disposed to embrace whatever tenets their prince and nobles might approve. But it is also apparent that Christianity had been for several years making a silent progress among the Russians, and that the king, by his conversion, only kept pace with the sentiments of, perhaps, the majority of his people. The immunities and privileges which he granted to the clergy may at first appear unreasonable. But such grants were in the style of the age; and it was a necessary policy of Volodimir to avail himself among a barbarous people, of the only class who possessed any tincture of knowledge; and to pay even an extravagant bounty for foreign instructors and missionaries. The same enlarged mind was shown in his bridges, his high-roads, and the palaces and Churches which he encouraged, by his example, the Russian nobility to raise. His court was magnificent, but in his own person he was rigidly abstemious and frugal. A deep shade of melancholy hung over him at all times from the recollection of his brother's murder; and he never gave orders for the execution of even the meanest malefactor without tears, and exclaiming, "Who am I, that I should condemn another?" Did we look on the early part alone of this man's life, we should be induced to place the pagan Volodimir among the greatest monsters who ever defiled a throne. If we behold his maturer age, we may confess that Volodimir the Christian was hardly unworthy of the high

<sup>1</sup> Depping, note sur L'Evesque, tom. i. p. 161.

honours which his country has ever since bestowed on his memory, or the name of saint with which the Greek Church has adorned him.

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XII.—The latter years of Volodimir's reign were agitated both by foreign and domestic misfortune. The Patzinacitæ again disturbed him, and defeated him in a great battle, in which the old prince was obliged to hide himself from his pursuers under the arch of one of his own bridges.

His sons, amongst whom, by the same fatal policy of which Sviatoslav had been guilty, he divided, in his own lifetime, the greater part of his territories, made war on each other and on their father; and the death of Volodimir is said to have been accelerated by grief, while he was on his march to chastise Jaroslav of Novogorod, who, after a long and bloody struggle with his brethren, succeeded, at length, in possessing himself of the crown of Kief.

XIII.—The Patzinacitæ, during these disturbances, were far from idle. Sometimes espousing one side, sometimes another, they contributed, by constant inroads, to weaken whatever Russian prince was in possession of Kief; and though continually defeated, showed plainly that it was no easy task to crush or tame them. The history of the princes of Kief is, from this time forward, of very little interest. Jaroslav made an unfortunate expedition against Constantinople, in which his fleet was almost entirely destroyed by a tempest, and by the Greek fire; and the sovereigns of Western Europe appear, at this epoch, to have maintained a closer intercourse with the princes of Russia than they ever did in after ages, till the time of Peter the Great. His eldest son, Volodimir of Novogorod, had to wife the daughter of our own unfortunate Harold. His third son married a German countess of Stadt; and his fourth, a daughter of the Emperor Constantine Monomachus. Of his three daughters, the first was given to a king of Norway; the second to Henry the First of France; the third to Andrew, king of Hungary. Voltaire, then, (as L'Evesque with justice observes) had little reason, when speaking of a prince thus widely connected, to call him “the unknown duke of an undiscovered Russia.” But it was enough for Voltaire, that the turn of the sentence pleased him; of the accuracy of the assertion he was, probably, more than careless. Notwithstanding the assertion of Mr. Pinkerton, that no Slavonic code can be found before the sixteenth century<sup>1</sup>, Jaroslav is regarded as the first who published a written code of laws in Russia; but that which is generally

<sup>1</sup> Geography, Vol. I. p. 305.



attributed to him has been so much altered by subsequent princes, that it is difficult to distinguish the work of the original legislator. L'Evesque has given a short account of the leading articles, which are mild and favourable to foreigners, who might prove their claims or accusations against a Russian by a smaller number of witnesses than a Russian was required to produce. The judges, as in England, made annual circuits; and though ordeal was not forbidden, it could only be undergone by the accuser in failure of other proof; a law which might have its use in preventing false accusations. The punishment of murder, as in all uncivilized countries, was committed to the kindred of the murdered person, and the tenour of the law seems more designed to correct or moderate their unbridled rage, than to pursue the criminal himself. The same circumstance may be observable in all early codes, and the rights of sanctuary, the rule of retaliation, and the Gothic custom of duel, were all alike calculated in their origin to curb revenge by confining it within certain bounds, or permitting its exercise only under particular circumstances. But though, in Russia, the murderer might be killed by the kindred of the deceased during the heat of blood, no other person had a right to take such vengeance on him; and the judge was contented with imposing a pecuniary fine. A robber, if found in the fact, might be killed on the spot; but if taken alive was to be brought to the judge uninjured. The peasants are spoken of as slaves. But this law which L'Evesque relates without suspicion, is apparently of a far more recent date than the days of Jaroslav. In fact, their vassalage only began at a later period than the Tartar invasion; and in the principality of Kief has not at any time been universal.

XIV.—The reign of Isiaslav, or Demetrius the first, was disturbed in 1054 by an irruption of the Turks, or Chozares, from the Cuban; and when these invaders were repelled, they were succeeded by the still more formidable horde of the Cumani, who, in a very few years, extirpated or subdued the Patzinacitæ, and eventually drove the Russians from all the conquests which Sviatoslav and Volodimir had made in the Crimea and on the Don. The evil days of Russia were now coming on, and her warriors were more engaged in fighting with each other, and in pillaging and massacring the Jews, than in resisting their common enemy, who had now nearly cut them off from all communication with the Euxine and Constantinople. By the easy and obvious policy of fomenting the quarrels between the sovereigns of Novogorod and Kief, the Cumani were the arbiters and lords of Scythia; and this wretched strife continued, diversified only with



occasional inroads of the Lithuanian Huns, or Chuni, the Poles, who were now rising rapidly in power and estimation, and the Hungarians, till, in the year 1235, these minor feuds were dismally suspended by the arrival of a new and most formidable enemy.

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XV.—The inhabitants of Central Asia, though all confounded by Des Guignes under the sweeping name of Huns, are composed, in fact, of three separate races, distinct in language and in physiognomy. The Finns in the north are easily known by their yellow hair and European countenances. The Calmuks, or Monguls, present, at the present day, the same peculiarities which the ancients ascribe to the Huns; and the Tartars, or Turks, though now strongly tinctured with Mongolian blood, must have been originally very different from either, and have approached pretty closely to the Persian countenance. So long as these remained hostile and independant, Europe and the other civilized countries of the world had little to fear from their inroads. But the Mongolians under Zinghis Khan and his successors had, during a century of continual conquests, united under their own broad banner the whole of Tartary and China; and now advanced, with the valour and ferocity of the former, and the arts and wealth of the latter, against the miserable and jealous governments into which the empire of Jaroslav was divided. Instead of the naked savages who, from the same quarter, had formerly terrified Europe, the Monguls and Tartars (for though the former were the dominant race, the latter were the most numerous) were cased in admirable armour of steel, and well-seasoned hides<sup>1</sup>; and the implicit obedience which they paid to their sovereigns<sup>2</sup> was fatally contrasted with the feudal misrule of the people with whom they were to contend. And they well understood how to make the best use of superior numbers, by the system of successive retreats and reinforcements of unbroken squadrons. To these military talents were added, if we believe the European chronicles, a perfidy and cruelty which, as it proved that nothing was to be expected from their forbearance as conquerors, ought to have inspired, at least, a valiant desperation in those whose native soil they came to invade.

XVI.—Instead, however, of rousing the inhabitants of Europe to resistance, their arrival, thus unexpected and thus formidable, appears to have struck a panic wherever they passed, which deprived their victims not only

<sup>1</sup> Dlugossi. Hist. Pol. p. 679, edit. Francofurt. Bonfinius, Hist. Hungar. viii. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Des Guignes, vol. iii. p. 7. Bonfinius, ubi supra.

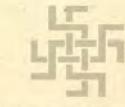
of hope, but of courage. The Chozares and other Turkish tribes on the frontiers of Europe, either sunk into slavery without a struggle, or were content to swell with their numbers and valour the train of their invaders. Jury, or George, prince of Moscow, died bravely fighting in battle ; but his city surrendered on a capitulation which not even the citizens themselves expected to be observed, and which was, in fact, immediately followed by a massacre of all who were either formidable or worthless to the enemy, the young men and the aged of either sex. Michael, prince of Kief, having put to death a Tartar chieftain whom Batu (the general under Octai Khân) had sent to reconnoitre his fortress, saw no hope of safety from the vengeance which he had thus incurred, but in immediate flight to Hungary ; and the same kingdom afforded a short and unquiet refuge to Cuten, king of the Cumani, at the head of 40,000 horsemen of his tribe, and an infinite number of women, children, and bondsmen. To the same asylum fled Boleslav the Chaste, duke of Cracof, with his wife, his mother, and a numerous body of clergy. But Bela, king of Hungary, far from protecting other crowns, was ill able to defend his own ; and Batu, after ravaging Moravia before the eyes of King Venceslas of Bohemia, (who wisely contented himself with observing his motions from the mountains,) entered Hungary, if we believe Bonfinius, with an army of 500,000 horse<sup>1</sup>. Yet a sufficient number remained in Poland to annihilate the united force of that kingdom, of Silesia, and of Russia, under the command of Henry, duke of Viatslav, and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Pompo de Holstern<sup>2</sup>. Henry fell, bravely fighting in the midst of his enemies ; and such was the slaughter, that when the Tartars, according to their custom, cut off one ear from each dead body, they filled nine water-skins with these bloody trophies.

XVII.—The Christians consoled their national pride under this defeat by ascribing it to the well-known magic of the heathen : and a circumstance is related which, if true, afforded, in those days, no unreasonable ground for the suspicion<sup>3</sup>. The Mongulians had, it seems, among their standards, one very large and terrible banner, inscribed with a symbol resembling St.

<sup>1</sup> Bonfinius, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> I have introduced the Teutonic knights in this battle on the authority of Duglossi, (p. 675,) though their presence is not mentioned in Herman Corner's Chronicon, published in Eckhard's Corp. Hist. Med. CEvi. (tom. 2.) nor in Raymond Duellius' Historia Ord. Equit. Teuton; though this last, as being an avowed panegyric, would hardly omit any instance of their merit and sufferings.

<sup>3</sup> Duglossi, 679.



Andrew's cross; its staff was surmounted by the image of a fierce and swarthy head, with a long beard. The Tartars had already retreated a furlong from the impetuous charge of Duke Henry; and their retreat was, by degrees, changing into a flight, when the bearer of this fatal ensign began to shake and brandish it violently. Immediately a thick and poisonous smoke exhaled from that fiendish visage; and as it spread like a cloud over the whole Polish army, every man felt his heart die within him. The Tartars returned to the charge with horrible yells, and the issue of the combat was no longer doubtful<sup>1</sup>. This story might be invented to extenuate the failure of the defeated army; and it has every appearance, it must be owned, of being copied from the "Dragon Standard" of Merlin in the old romances. Yet the empire of the Monguls in China renders it not impossible that some species of fire-works was known to them, which, exaggerated by fear and ignorance, might easily give rise to such a description.

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XVIII.—On the other side, the arms of Batu were crowned with equal success in Hungary. The Palatine opposed some hasty levies which were crushed without difficulty:—the Cumani who, though at first hospitably received, soon experienced the bitterness of dependance, went over in a body to the division of Sudai Bahadour; and Cadau, or Coucton, another of Batu's lieutenants<sup>2</sup>, was joined by the Count Aristold and 600 German mercenaries, who formed the garrison of Rudana, and who selong pikes, heavy armour, and cross-bows, supplied the only species of force in which the Mongolian army was defective. Other troops of the same nation are accused of resorting to their standard from the wreck of the Silesian and Russian army; and thus reinforced they pressed still closer on King Bela, who, being forced by the cries of his subjects to sally from Pesth, was defeated and chased by the indefatigable Cadan, till he took refuge in the islands of the Adriatic. Except a few fortified places, all Hungary, Poland, and the north of Turkey were overrun without further opposition. The barbarians were now on the frontier of Germany. The Emperor Frederic had sent importunate letters to all the sovereigns of Western Europe, imploring aid against the common danger; and St. Louis, the king

<sup>1</sup> Duglossi does not say that any wounds were inflicted by this engine; and it is possible that the intention of the smoke thus raised was only to serve as a signal to the whole Mongolian army to return to the charge from their pretended flight, though it had the additional advantage of striking terror into their Christian adversaries.

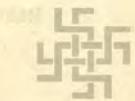
<sup>2</sup> Bonfinius, 294.

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of France, was levying an army, in doubt whether it would be employed for the defence of his neighbour's territory or of his own, when in the midst of these universal and natural apprehensions, like a wave which had spent itself on the open beach, the mighty army of Batu glided back silently and unpursued to the deserts whence it had issued, loaded with the wealth, the strength, and the beauty of the west, and leaving behind it, the blood, and groans, and tears of Hungary, and Poland, and Russia<sup>1</sup>.

XIX.—To the plains of Scythia, however, the invaders did not bid a similar adieu; the blended hordes of the Monguls and Tartars still pitched their tents, and pastured their herds among the sepulchres of the Scoloti; and Europe for the first time saw camels grazing in her meadows. And though the latter years of Oktar Khan were too much engrossed with Asiatic conquests to leave him time to vex Europe any further, yet Gaiouk, his successor, to whom the Dominicans, Plan Carpin and Benedict, were sent by Pope Innocent the Fourth, (though not unfavourable to the Christian clergy who visited his court) was fully bent on subjugating all the west, of the value and beauty of which he had formed a high opinion during the campaign of Batu in Hungary. He had made preparations for a new expedition of eighteen years into Europe; and out of every ten men able to bear arms, had ordered a conscription of three; which, if carried into effect throughout his dominions, must have surpassed even the wildest stories which are told respecting the army of Xerxes. But Providence kept back a storm which must have ruined Christendom, by the death of Gaiouk Khân himself, who was meditating death to so many millions of his fellow-creatures. A female regency and disputed succession followed; a dreadful drought and famine consumed the stores of the regular troops, and obliged the Tartar hordes who were already collected to disperse; and Mangou Khan, to whom Rubruquis was sent, was more disposed to extend his empire on the side of China and Persia, than to make war with the western Churches. The miserable Dominicans, whom the King of France and the Pope selected as ambassadors, were, indeed, but little qualified to give a warlike race of barbarians any exalted opinion of the power or wisdom of the Franks; but it is possible that their poverty was not ill calculated to disarm the cupidity or ambition of those to whom they were sent; and to Rubruquis, the envoy of St. Louis, we are indebted for the best and fullest account which we possess of the Mongul empire and the state of Scythia in the 13th century.

<sup>1</sup> Bonfinius, p. 301.



XX.—The Chosares, or Chazares, had long since disappeared from Europe; but the Crimea, which Rubruquis describes as of a triangular shape, still bore the name of Chazaria, having “Chersova” (Cherson) to the west, and “ Soldaia” (Soudak) on its southern coast, and opposite to Sinope. Both were places of considerable trade, and the first was remarkable as being the scene of the martyrdom of St. Clement, bishop of Ancyra. Passing by this city, Rubruquis had a view, he tells us, of an island, on which was a Church built by angels. Is this the present monastery of St. George, whose lofty situation may, from the sea, appear insulated? or is there any trace in this tradition of the marvellous stories current among the ancient heathens, respecting the island and shrine of Achilles? East of the Crimea, and at the mouth of the river Tanais, by which he understands, apparently, the Bosphorus, was the city of Matriga, by which he means Tamatarcha, or Tmutaracan, a place also of great trade for sturgeon and other kinds of dried fish, the produce of the Tanais. This mighty river, he observes, makes of itself a kind of sea, (the Palus Maeotis,) seven hundred leagues in extent, before it falls into the Sea of Pontus; but it is too shallow for vessels of burthen, and the merchants of Constantinople send up smaller barks from Matriga into the interior. Caffa, or Theodosia, though, both before and after his time, a place of considerable importance, he passes over in silence. Zicchia, at the foot of Caucasus, still retained its ancient name; and between Cherson and Soudak were no less than forty castles, or fortified villages, in almost every one of which a different language was spoken; and some were inhabited by Goths, who spoke the German tongue. He describes the mountainous coast and the beautifully-wooded country which occupies the south of the Crimea; the vast green desert extending thence to the isthmus of Perekop; the salt-pools; the commerce which has always been carried on in that article between the Russians and Tartars, and which, in those days, produced an ample revenue of linen cloths and gold to the Mongul chieftains, Batou, and Sartach. The price, or duty, on each cart-load were “two webs of cloth, to the value of half an yperpera;” and there were also many ships which resorted to the coast for the same commodity, and paid a duty according to their tonnage. A more burdensome impost of an axe and a certain quantity of corn was paid to the conquerors from every house throughout their dominions; and the Mongul chieftains had most of them farms cultivated by Russian peasants, for the maintenance or luxury of their vast numbers of domestics and concubines. Before the arrival of the Tartars, the open plain which he was now traversing belonged, he tells



us, to the Cumani, “ who compelled the above-mentioned cities and castles to pay tribute to them.” But when the Tartars came upon them, the Cumani fled, all of them, to the sea-shore, being in such extreme famine, that they who were alive were compelled to eat up them which were dead. “ And as a merchant,” says Rubruquis, “ reported to me, who saw it with his own eyes, living men devoured and tore with their teeth the raw flesh of the dead, as dogs would gnaw carrion.” Of the Tartars themselves, he gives a lively and familiar picture. The manners of a wandering race are susceptible of little change ; and their domestic habits were almost the same in the time of Rubruquis as in that of Herodotus, or as at the present day. In point of wealth, however, and of splendour, the Mongolian conquerors of the east and west exceeded, as may well be supposed, in an infinite degree, the ancient or modern wanderers of the north of Asia ; nor do I know a more gorgeous description of a nomade life, than that which is given by Rubruquis of the moving palaces of these warlike and lordly shepherds.

XXI.—“ They have no settled habitation,” are his words, “ neither know they where they shall rest to-morrow. They have all Scythia to themselves, which stretcheth from the river Danube to the furthest extent of the east. Each of their captains, according to the number of his people, knoweth the bounds of his pasture, and where he ought to feed his cattle, winter and summer, spring and autumn ; for they remove in the winter to warm and southern regions, and in the summer they go northward into the cold. In winter when snow lies on the ground, they feed their cattle in the pasture where there is no water, because they then use snow for drink. Their houses, wherein they sleep, they raise on a round foundation of wickers, artificially wrought and compacted ; the roofs consisting also of wickers, meeting above in one little roundel, out of which there rises upwards a neck like a chimney, which they cover with white felt ; and often they lay mortar and white earth on the felt, with the powder of bones, that it may shine and look white. Sometimes, also, they cover their houses with black felt<sup>1</sup>. This roof of their house they adorn with a variety of pictures. Before the door they hang a piece of felt curiously painted, for they spend

<sup>1</sup> The distinction between the black and white felt has since become national, and has been frequently the badge of factious animosity. The Kirghees, at present, have white tents ; the Calmucks and Nogays have them, for the most part, black. The paintings and ornaments described by Rubruquis have, in modern times, greatly degenerated. They still, however, have often a flag covered with symbolical painting, or an inscription, designating their tribe, or comprising some religious saying or verse.

all their coloured felt in painting vines, trees, birds, and beasts thereupon. These houses they make so large, that they contain thirty feet in breadth ; for measuring once the breadth between the wheel-ruts of one of their carts or wains, I found it to be twenty feet over ; and when the house was upon the cart, it stretched over the wheels, on each side, five feet at the least. I told two-and-twenty oxen in one draught, eleven in one row, according to the breadth of the cart, and eleven in the other. The axletree of the cart was of huge bigness, like the mast of a ship ; and a man stood in the doorway of the house, on the forestall of the cart, to drive the oxen. They make also certain square baskets of slender twigs, as big as great chests, and afterwards, from one side to another, they frame a hollow lid of the like twigs, and make a door in the front of the chest. Then they cover the said chest, or house, with the black felt, rubbed over with tallow or sheep's milk, to keep the rain from soaking through, which they likewise adorn with painting and white feathers. Into these chests they put their whole household stuff, or treasure, and bind them on other carts, which are drawn by camels, that so they may pass through rivers ; neither do they ever take down these chests from their carts. When they take down their dwelling-houses, they turn their door always to the south ; and next they place the carts, laden with the chests, here and there, within a stone's cast of the house ; insomuch, that the house standeth between two ranks of carts, as if it were between two walls. The women make themselves most beautiful carts, which I am not able," continues the missionary, " to describe to your majesty but by pictures only. I would willingly have painted all things for you, had my skill in that art been great enough. A rich Tartar hath a hundred or more such carts, with chests. Baatu (Batu) hath sixteen wives, every one of whom hath one great house, besides other smaller houses, which they place behind the great one, being, as it were, chambers for their women to dwell in ; and to each of the houses belong two hundred carts. When they take their houses off the carts, the principal wife placeth her court on the west, and so all the rest in order, so that the last wife's house is on the east frontier ; and the court of each wife is distant from her neighbour about a stone's throw. Hence it is that the court of a rich Tartar will appear like a very large village, few men being to be seen therein. One woman will guide twenty or thirty carts at once, for their country is very flat ; and they fasten the carts, with camels or oxen, one behind the other. A woman sits in the foremost cart driving the oxen,



and all the rest follow of themselves the same pace. When they come to a place which is difficult of passage, they loose them, and guide them, one by one, for they go a slow pace, and not faster than an ox can walk."

XXII.—“When they have taken down their houses from the carts, and turned the doors southward, they place the bed of the master of the house at the north part thereof, and the place of the women is on the east, so that they are on the left hand of the master when sitting on his bed with his face to the south ; but the men’s place is to the west, that is, to the right of their master. Men, when they enter into the house, never hang their quivers on the women’s side. Over the master’s head there is an image made of felt, which they call the master’s brother ; and another, fastened to the wall over the head of the mistress, which they call her brother ; and a bow hangs between them, besides a little lean idol, which is, as it were, the guardian of the whole house. The mistress places at the foot of her bed, on the right hand, the skin of a kid, stuffed with wool, and near it a little image looking to the apartments of the women ; next the door, on the women’s side, is another image with a cow’s udder, which is the guardian of those who milk the cattle, for that is the constant employment of the women. On the other side of the door, next the men, is another image with the udder of a mare, as the guardian of those who milk the mares. When they meet to make merry, they sprinkle part of their drink upon the image which is over the master’s head ; and afterwards on the other images in order ; then a servant goes about the house with a cup full of drink, sprinkling it thrice towards the south, and bowing his knee every time ; and this is done in honour of the fire. He performs the same ceremony to the east, in honour of the air ; then to the west, in honour of the water ; and, lastly, to the north, in honour of the dead. When the master holds a cup in his hand to drink, before he tastes, he pours a part upon the ground. If he drinks sitting on horseback, he pours out part on the neck of the horse before he drinks. After the servant has paid his reverence to the four quarters of the world, he returns into the house, and two other servants stand ready with their cups and two basons to carry drink to the master and his wife, who sit together on a bed. If the master has more wives than one, she, with whom he lay the night before, sits by his side that day, and all the other wives resort to her house to drink, and there the court is for that day ; the gifts, also, which are presented that day, (from strangers or vassals) are laid up in the chests of that wife. One

piece of ceremony is constant in all houses : there is a bench on which stands a vessel of milk, or of other drink, and cups for drinking it<sup>1</sup>. They make in winter an excellent drink of rice and honey ; strong, well-tasted, and high-coloured, like wine ; they have also wine brought to them from other countries. In the summer time they care not for any drink but kosmos (koumiss.) This liquor is placed always at the entrance of the door, and beside it sits a minstrel. I saw there no such violins as ours, but many other musical instruments which are not in use among us. When the master of the house begins to drink, one of his servants crieth out with a loud voice, ‘ Ha !’ and the minstrel thereupon begins to play.”

XXIII.—Rubruquis gives a very accurate account of the manner of fermenting koumiss, which he describes as “ sharp on the tongue, like raspberry wine,” but as leaving a taste behind it like almond emulsion. To make this and the kara-koumiss, which was a more valuable species, the subjects and vassals of each Tartar lord contributed their mares’ milk every third day. Their butter, he observes, was preserved by boiling, without salt ; and sour curd, beaten up with water, supplied the place of milk in winter. He mentions the sogur (suslik) as a common dainty among them, and calls the jerboa (*mus jaculus*) “ a sort of rabbit with long tails, the outside hair of which is white and black.” He falls into the same error with Strabo, in mistaking the wild horse for a species of ass ; and notices the wild Tartarian sheep with ponderous horns, which were often made into drinking-cups. Falconry, a sport unknown to the Greeks and Romans, and originally introduced into Europe from the east, was a favorite

<sup>1</sup> Besides the skin of koumiss, the Calmucks have, at present, a small board, on which are a few cups of some liquor, which I took to be tea, and which seemed to be an offering to their principal idol. The rice drink spoken of by Rubruquis they got from China, where it is usually drunken at this day. (See Journal of an embassy to China, Macartney’s Works, vol. ii. p. 260.) The description of Rubruquis applies, it should be observed, more especially to the Mongul nobles, not to their Tartar subjects. He makes no mention of tea, which is now a very common beverage among all the Mongolian and Calmuk tribes. Nor does Marco Polo, who was actually in China, notice it, which he could hardly have avoided doing if it were in so common use in his time as it is at present. It may be curious to enquire at what time it became an article of universal and daily luxury. Tea is mentioned by the Mahomedan traveller, the date of whose journey, which was published by Renandot in 1718, is generally referred to the ninth century. (Harris’s Collection, vol. I. p. 527.) But the manner in which this Mahomedan speaks of it is rather as a medicine than as a daily drink. It is singular that Rubruquis describes their wine as brought from foreign countries. What had become of the numerous vineyards of the Crimea ? Was their produce neglected by the Monguls as of a bad and hungry quality ? or had they been rooted up in the destructive progress of conquest ?

and profitable amusement of the Monguls, who derived from it no trifling part of their subsistence. Their great men generally affected to carry a hawk on the wrist ; and when Rubruquis was introduced to Mangu Khân, the Mongul sovereign continued playing with his feathered favourites, of which one was brought after another into his presence, for a long time before he took any notice of the ambassadors. Their women wore a botta, or high conical head-dress of wood, which rose two French feet above the head. Something like this, though of less portentous altitude, is still worn by the Tcheremissi and the Russians in the province of Kostroma. “ When a great company of these ladies ride together, they seem, at a distance, like a party of soldiers, with helmets on their heads, carrying their lances upright ; for the botta appears like a helmet with a lance above it.” The Mongolian females were hardy, corpulent and flat-nosed ; so much so, that the honest friar fancied that the wife of Zagatai, the first great man whom they saw, had “ pared her nose between the eyes on purpose, and anointed the scar, as well as her eye-brows, with black ointment.” The latter custom is at this day common in many countries of the east. In their habits they were disgustingly dirty, never washing their garments, dishes, or bowls, and daubing their faces with grease most frightfully. When they washed their hands and face, they were contented to fill the mouth with water, which they spirted on their hands, and thus rubbed their faces and heads with it. The usual manner of washing at this day in Russia is simply to pour water over their hands ; to dip the hand into a basin being regarded as slovenly and ill-mannered. The Mongulians abstained from washing their garments and platters from a superstitious motive, and used to beat such as washed any thing in their presence, “ because,” they said, “ if washed garments were hung out to dry, the gods would become angry, and dreadful thunder would ensue<sup>1</sup>. ” They were terribly afraid of thunder and witches. When a great man was sick, no stranger was allowed to approach within a certain distance of his tent, lest witches or evil spirits should enter with him. Their soothsayers practised many spells to counteract the malicious witchcrafts of others ; and there were many impurities which, according to their notion, were only to be cleansed or secured against danger, by passing the infected person or garment between two fires ; a well-known custom of the Magi, which we should hardly expect to find so far north. The drum or timbrel, a usual instrument of divination through

<sup>1</sup> This was an ordinance of Zinghin Khân.—*Des Guignes*, tom. iii. p. 73.

all the north, from Lapland to Kamtschatka, was much used by their sorceresses ; and when any person of rank died suddenly, it was usual to ascribe the accident to magic, and many miserable creatures were tortured on this suspicion. On the ninth of May was a great festival, in which all the mares of their herds, and particularly those of a white colour, were brought together to be blessed by their magicians ; and, on this occasion, the Mahomedan moullahs and the Nestorian monks were also obliged to attend.

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The Christians among them were Alani, Nestorians, and Russians, all very ignorant, complying, without scruple, with the idolatrous and magical ceremonies of their masters, and placing almost the whole of religion in an abstinence from mares' milk and koumiss ; which scruple of theirs was what mainly kept the Tartars, who were lovers of koumiss, from, at least, nominally embracing their faith. On what ground they considered mares' milk to be unlawful diet, we are not informed. The modern Russians and Cossaks have no such scruple. Koumiss is a common and successful regimen among them for pulmonary disorders, and is served, during the season, at all the best tables in Tcherkask.

XXIV.—From Perekop, Rubruquis travelled eastwards, having, as he describes the country, the sea on the south side, and a vast desert on the north ; “ which desert, in some places, reaches twenty days' journey in breadth, without tree, mountain, or so much as a stone therein, and affording excellent pasture. Here the Cumani, who were called Capthad<sup>1</sup>, were wont to feed their cattle, and were the same whom the Germans called Walani, and their country Walania. But Isidore calleth all the tract of land stretching from the river Tanais to the lake Mæotis, and so far as the Danube, the country of the Alani.” To these Cumani, or Cumanians, Rubruquis ascribes the singular monuments already mentioned, and notices the drinking-cup which the statues carried “ before their navels.” But, as the Cumanians were either killed or driven from the country before his arrival, this testimony amounts to no more than that these monuments were constructed by some race anterior to the Tartars ; and I have already given some reason for supposing them to be of Scythian origin. At the same time, as the Cumani were probably themselves a Scythian race, it is

<sup>1</sup> Capthad, or Capshak, was the name of the territory, not of the people ; the Tartar sovereigns of Astrachan and the Crimea were called Sultans of Capshak, as the more northern state of Casan bore the name of Kipshak. Has Shak any reference to the Socæ, the oriental name for the Scythians ?



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certainly not impossible that they may have had the same rites of sepulture, and the same national distinction of a cup at the girdle. If this, however, had been the case, we should probably have heard of it from the Hungarian authors. The Tartars appear to have had very different customs; yet some of them are truly Scythian. Rubruquis saw one newly buried, in honour of whom they had hung up sixteen horse-hides on high poles, four towards each quarter of the world; and they set beside him koumiss to drink and flesh to eat; and yet they said he had been baptized. He noticed the pyramids and towers of brick and stone which the Nogays still, not unfrequently, raise over their dead; and tombs of another kind, in the eastern districts, composed of a large pavement of irregular stones, and four long stones pitched upright towards the four cardinal points. Of these last I have seen no instance, nor have I met with a description of them in any other author.

XXV.—“A few days before the feast of St. Mary Magdalen,” Rubruquis arrived on the banks of the Tanais, “by which he means the Don.” In his course from Perekop he had passed two rivers; and before he arrived at the main stream of the Tanais, which was as broad as the Seine at Paris, “(a great deal broader he might have said,) “they had passed over many fine waters, all full of fish; of which delicious food the Tartars, however, made very small account.”

This description appears to apply to Tcherkask, which is seated on some small islands in the bed of the river; or perhaps still more to Azoph, as the successive passage of the different streams which intersect its Delta, strictly corresponds to the several waters full of fish which were passed before a traveller arrived at the main stream of the Don. No Cossaks are mentioned by that name; but on the eastern bank of the river, Sartach, the Tartar chieftain, had erected some cottages, and placed in them a colony of Russians to maintain the ferry. Carriages were taken over as they are at present, in double canoes. A little lower down the stream was another cottage, where passengers were ferried over in the winter time, where the Tartars were accustomed to drive their herds from the north of their dominions towards their southern frontier, and the warm meadows of the Cuban. The dress of the Russians of the thirteenth century differed little from that which they now wear. They had plantations of rye and millet in the neighbourhood of their settlement, the soil not suiting wheat. They pleaded, at first, a privilege from Batu, which exempted them from furnishing oxen or carts to travellers; but on Rubruquis

representing that his mission was for the common good of Christianity, these poor people cheerfully furnished them with oxen and drivers; proceeding with which, they arrived, on the 2d of August, at the court or camp of Sartach.

XXVI.—The geography of this ferry is not a little perplexed; but I can find no place where it can be fixed with much probability, unless it be somewhere between Tcherkask and Azoph: the last of which stations is apparently the most southern of the two ferries mentioned by Rubruquis. It cannot have been to the north of Tcherkask, because the rivers Don and Volga were ten days' journey asunder in the place where the missionaries passed, which can only answer to a situation near the mouth of the former. And it is a circumstance not without its importance to the historian of the Don Cossaks, that the people who inhabited their country in the thirteenth century were of the Christian faith, and of Russian descent. The banks of the Tanais Rubruquis describes as woody and fertile, and he gives the same character of the country eastward. Yet he must here speak of the northern parts, and of those which he only knew by hearsay, since this description does, certainly, not apply to any part of the country south of Voronetz; and Rubruquis himself asserts, that his company travelled three days after they passed the Tanais, without meeting either inhabitants or dwellings. During this lonely march, their oxen and themselves were ready to sink with fatigue; and they were only able to discover a Tartar encampment on the fourth day, by the providential appearance of two stray horses in the wilderness.

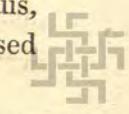
XXVII.—North of the country which the ambassadors now traversed, were the forests of the Moxells, (Tcheremissi) and the Merclas, or Merdui, (Mordvini,) and more northward still, a country where the carriages were drawn by large dogs. To the south they had very high mountains, (yet at such a distance they could not possibly see Caucasus, and must, therefore, here also speak from hearsay,) at whose feet, and adjoining the great desert which they had so long been traversing, were the several nations of the Carges, (Kinghis) the Alani, or Abcas, "who were yet Christians, and made war on the Tartars;" and the Lesgees, who were subject to the Tartars; and beyond these was the "iron gate" of Caucasus. "The regions which we passed," continues Rubruquis, "the Cumani inhabited before they were expelled by the Tartars." All these tribes are still found in the seats which he assigns to them, except the Cumanians, whose expulsion he had already mentioned, and the Kinghis Cossaks, who are now



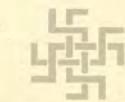
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XXVIII.—The third day after leaving the camp of Sartach, who received them not over courteously, they arrived at the great river Etilia (Volga). “ The stream of which, when Rubruquis beheld, he marvelled from what region of the north such huge and mighty waters should descend.” They had been chiefly allured into Tartary by the report that Sartach was a Christian ; but before they left his encampment, Coiat, with many other scribes of his court, said to him, “ Do not make report that our lord is a Christian, but a Moal (Mongul) because the name of Christian seemeth to them to be the name of some nation ; and so great is their pride that, though they believe, perhaps, something concerning Christ, yet they will not be called Christians, being desirous that their own name, that is to say Moal, should be exalted above all other names. Neither will they be called by the name of *Tartars*, for the *Tartars* were another nation, as I was informed by them.” The country between the Don and the Volga was considerably infested by small predatory companies of Russians, Hungarians, (from Great Hungary, I presume, or the neighbourhood of the Yaik) and Alani ; and on the Volga was another ferry maintained by a blended colony of Tartars and Russians.

XXIX.—Having thus conducted Rubruquis to the eastern limits of Scythia, it is not my intention to pursue his further progress to the court of Batou, or to that of Mangen Khân, and the imperial city of Caracorum. It may suffice to observe that the tents of these rustic sovereigns were apparently well stocked with every thing which might contribute to indulgence or splendour ; that Christian slaves, and monks, and artificers were abundant every where ; that there were Germans digging for gold, and forging armour at a village named Bolac ; and that in Caracorum, though a city of no great size or promising appearance, was resident one Master William Bouchier, a Frenchman by birth, and a goldsmith of no ordinary skill, who adorned the palaces of Mangen Khân with toys which might excite the cupidity of the modern court of Pekin, and must have considerably surpassed the richest ornaments of his own sovereign, or of any other European potentate of the age. “ Mangen,” says Rubruquis, “ hath at Caracorum a great court, hard by the walls of the city, enclosed



with a brick wall; as the priories of monks are enclosed with us. In that court there is a great palace wherein he holdeth his feasts twice a year; once in Easter when he passeth that way, and once in summer when he returneth; but the latter is the greater, because then all the nobles meet together at his court, and then he gives unto them garments, and shows all his magnificence. There are many other houses there as large as our farms, wherein his victuals and treasures are stored. In the entrance of that great place (because it was indecent to have flagons going about as in a tavern) William, the goldsmith, made him a great silver tree, at the root whereof were four silver lions; having one pipe sending forth pure cow's milk, and four other pipes, conveyed within the tree to the top thereof, and thence spreading back again downward like branches; and upon each was a golden serpent, the tails of all four of which were made to twine round the tree; and one of these pipes ran with wine, another with caracosmos, another with mead, another with drink made of rice called teracina; and to each species of liquor was its proper vessel at the foot of the tree to receive it. Between these four pipes, at the top, he made a golden angel holding a trumpet, and under the tree he made a hollow vault, wherein a man might be hidden, and a pipe ascending through the heart of the tree unto the angel. First he made bellows, but they gave not wind enough. Without the palace is a chamber where the liquors are laid, and there were servants ready to pour out when they heard the angel sounding the trumpet; and the boughs of the tree are of silver, and so are the leaves and the pears on it. When, therefore, they want drink, the butler commandeth the angel to sound the trumpet: he who is hid in the vault, hearing the command, blows the pipe strongly, which ascending to the angel, he sets his trumpet to his mouth," (how he did this is not expressed) "and the trumpet soundeth very shrill. Then the servants in the chamber pour liquor into the proper pipe, and the pipes pour it from above, and they are received below into the vessels prepared for that purpose." The journal of William de Rubruquis is marked throughout with an apparent honesty and exactness which forbid us to doubt whatever he asserts of his own knowledge; yet, it must be owned, the works of his French goldsmith surpass, both in magnificence and artifice, any thing which we should have expected to find at such a period either in Europe or Asia; and the machinery of this marvellous conduit resembles rather the elaborate fictions in the "Dream of Polyphile," than the usual efforts of art in a barbarous age, and at the court of a Khan of Tartary. But though

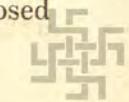


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there were many Christians in the court, and though the Nestorian monks pretended that Mangen Khân was really baptized, there was every outward appearance of his still professing the religion of his ancestors. At all his public feasts he venerated, in the usual manner, the little felt idols which are the Penates of the Mongul tent; and his regard for Christianity appears to have proceeded no further than an unbounded toleration or indifference for every sect of Christians, and a belief that their priests, like other Schamans, or Bonzes, had a certain degree of influence with the Almighty.

XXX.—The death of Mangen Khân, who was killed in a fruitless attempt to storm Ho-tcheou, a city in the Chinese province of Setchuen, which was at that time subject to an independant monarch, was a fatal blow to the integrity of the vast Mongulian empire<sup>1</sup>. Kublai, his successor on the throne of China, was, indeed, considered as lord paramount of the whole vast tract from Kief to Nangkin, and from the northern to the Indian ocean; but Batou in Capshak, Houlagon in Persia, and Zagatai in Maralwinhar, or Bucharia, assumed the title of Khân, and the power of absolute, though nominally dependant, sovereigns. Yet were these fragments of the empire of Gengis Khân in themselves so formidable, that the sultans of Kapehac continued long the terroir not only of Russia, which they governed or wasted at pleasure, but of the furthest extremities of Poland, of Hungary, and of Thrace. But the savage policy of Batou, though it sufficed to extend his conquests, was not able to transmit even a part of them to his son. His brother Berekay put his nephew to death before Batou was cold in the grave; and the nobles, when assembled at a great feast, proclaimed the murderer sovereign of Capshak, A.D. 1255. The reign of Berekay was chiefly distinguished by a fresh inroad into Lithuania in the year 1258; by the establishment of a census and poll tax all over Russia in the year following; and, above all, by the introduction of Mahomedanism into Scythia, and the conversion of the Khân and his subjects. His latter days were embittered by the revolt of his kinsman Nogaia, son of Mogol, son of Tatar, son of Touschi Khân, who was supported by the Greek emperor Michael Palaeologus, whose natural daughter, Euphrosyne, he married, and whose name has since become a natural appellation for all the Tartars of New Russia.

XXXI.—Berekay, who had murdered his nephew, was not likely to

<sup>1</sup> He fell in the 52d year of his age, and the tenth of his reign, A.D. 1259.



leave the crown to any posterity of his own, and was succeeded by the third brother of Batou, Mangu Timur. This prince destroyed, in 1277, the poor remains of the Jazii, or Jazyges of Lithuania, and took their city Dediadoh. In them perished the last independant relic of those Sarmata, so famous once, and so formidable, though Pastori<sup>1</sup> ascribes their destruction to Lescus, the black king of Poland in 1289. Mangu Timur was attended in this expedition by almost all the nobility of Russia, who refused, however, as it should seem, to follow him in his further progress against the Christian kingdom of Bulgaria. It was during this monarch's reign that Bibars, sultan of Egypt, who, like many of the other Mamelucs, had been originally a Cumanian slave, from a natural desire to enrich and beautify the place of his birth, erected those splendid baths and mosques at Iski Crim, or Cimmerium, of which the ruins still rise so proudly above the orchards and cottages of its present Armenian inhabitants<sup>2</sup>. The district, however, which is one of the most fertile in the Crimea, and the best peopled, by no means merits, at the present day, the lamentations of Des Guignes, who contrasts its ancient multitudes of inns and bazars with "*the deer and wild-goats*" which now wander, as he supposes, in its desolate places.

XXXII.—The following circumstance is worth noticing, as it may serve to show the nature of the excesses committed by the Tartars in Russia. In 1283 there was in the province of Koursk, a chieftain of that nation named Achmed, who had built and fortified two villages in which a great number of robbers collected, who ravaged all the country of Koursk and Orel. Oleg, prince of Russia, and Sviatoslav, one of the chief boyars of the country, complained to one of Nogaia's generals named Toulabouga, who destroyed this nest of robbers, and set at liberty all their prisoners. But Achmed had interest enough at the court of Nogaia to shift the charge of robbery from his own people to those of the Russian chieftains; and, having obtained a sufficient force, compelled both Oleg and Sviatoslav to

<sup>1</sup> Pastori Flor. Polonicas, L. ii. § 14.

<sup>2</sup> Des Guisnes, tom. iii. p. 343. The principal mosque was cased with white marble, and paved with porphyry. He established also, in the same city, several colleges for the study of Islamism and astrology. Des Guignes supposes the present inhabitants of Iski Crim to be Jews and Tartars. They are, in truth, a colony of Arminians, though a very poor one. The place fell into decay when the Genoese transferred the commerce of Europe from Sudak to Caffa, which latter town was only just reviving from the ruins of old Theodosia at the time of which we are now speaking.



fly the country, put their daughters and several of their nobles to death, and clothing some beggars in their robes, sent them through the country to proclaim the fate which awaited whatever district should oppose itself to the "Baskaks."

This last name perplexes Des Guignes ; but is nothing more than the Tartar name for governor, and was assigned to an officer appointed by the conquerors to receive the tribute of every province.

XXXII.—It would be neither easy nor interesting to enter into the details of this confused and calamitous period of Scythian history, any further than to state that the empire of Kapshak, though reunited after the death of Nogaia, who fell in battle in the year 1291, was again split into the sovereignties of Astrachan, of Casan, and of the Nogayan horde ; and that intestine divisions, and the repeated though unsuccessful insurrections of different Russian districts had so far weakened the western Tartars that they fell an easy prey to Tamerlane, the famous conqueror and sultan of Maralvenham in the year 1395<sup>1</sup>. In the year 1415, Idikon, a Tartar chieftain, ravaged all the duchy of Kief in consequence of a disgraceful alliance which the Teutonic knights in Russia had formed with these enemies of the Christian faith, against Poland and Lithuania. And the new kingdom of the Crimea, which was erected about the same time by a Tartar peasant named Gerai, though, by weakening still more the power of the Tartars, it freed Europe from all further fear of subjugation, was during many years, under the protection and influence of Turkey, a very troublesome and dangerous neighbour to the borders of Poland and Russia<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Des Guignes, tom. iii. p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> During the intestine troubles of the kingdom of Kapshak, an infant descendant of Genghis Khân was brought up by the shepherd Gerai, who, eight years afterwards, on the horde to which he belonged lamenting the extinction of their ancient blood royal, produced the boy, then eighteen years old, to them as a scion of that noble stock. All the western Tartars hastened to join his standard ; and Hadgi Khân, when seated on the throne of Batchiserai, assumed, as a mark of honour to his foster-father, who refused every other reward, the surname of Gerai, and appointed it, thenceforth, as the name of all the descendants of Zinghis. I have omitted to observe that, in the account which Des Guignes furnishes of the inroad of Tamerlane into Kapshak, he strangely confounds the Borysthenes, or Dnieper, with the Terk, or some other river of Caucasus, since he makes the Uzi, or Usbeks, fly over the *Borysthenes into Asia Minor*. The flight of these Usbeks at the approach of Tamerlane, and the direction which they took, corresponds pretty closely with those of the Cimmerians in the time of the first Scythian invasion.

In the meantime, however, a new power was silently rising in Scythia, of a character distinct from any which had yet appeared there, and which has since seemed destined to produce more striking and permanent effects on the general interests of Europe than any of the tribes which preceded it.

XXXIII.—During the scenes of intolerable oppression which I have thus slightly portrayed, and to which, during many centuries the country was exposed, there were certain situations, which, as being neither objects of cupidity to the Tartars, nor easily accessible by their violence, were the natural refuge of all who wished to escape from tyranny. Fearing the water, and disliking fish, the Monguls had few motives strong enough to induce them to attack such fugitives as might shelter themselves in the retreats and fastnesses of the Bog, the Dnieper, the Donetz, and the Don. Nor is it possible to visit the labyrinth of marshy or rocky islets, surrounded by these mighty rivers, without recognizing the same facilities for concealment and security, which fostered the infant freedom of the first settlers of Venice.

The Cumani we have already seen driven from their pastures to perish with hunger on the shores of the Euxine, and the Palus Mæotis; and it is not improbable that some of these fugitives found a better asylum in these fens and waters. The Russians, who, as fishermen and pirates, had a perfect knowledge of every ford and lagoon, every rapid and shallow of the stream, would naturally resort to their own element as a refuge from an enemy to whom even the use of rafts was unknown. And the ferrymen of the same nation whom Rubruquis found established by Sartach on the Don, and the miserable peasants who cultivated the ground for the Mongul lords, would, in the common course of yearly oppression and escape, afford a very numerous reinforcement to any association of freemen or robbers in the neighbourhood<sup>1</sup>.

XXXIV.—The members of these predatory republics would be called by the neighbouring Tartars, “Cossaks,” or “Marauders;” and their retreats fortified by an abattis of trees and brushwood, might find in the same language (as I am informed) the appropriate name of “Tcherkassi,” “cut down.” We find, accordingly, that their earliest capital on the Dnieper bore this appellation, which was afterwards transferred, with better fortune, to the present metropolis of the Don. The origin, however, of the name

<sup>1</sup> Pastori de Bello Casaceico, p. 7. Idem. Hist. Polon. Plenior, P. 1. I. 1. p. 15. Sabieski Bello Chotzimenska, L. 11. Hartnock de Repub. Polon. p. 842.

of Cossak has been differently stated by almost every writer on the subject. Some, whose opinions I have heard, some years ago, supported in conversation by no less an authority than the valiant and venerable Maffei Ivanovitch Platof, derive it from the Slavonic word " cossa," a sickle, scythe, or crooked sabre<sup>1</sup>; and it will be seen hereafter that the blades of scythes set straight on staves, were a customary and very formidable weapon among the Cossaks of the Ukraine. Others, having found that " kosa" signifies a goat in the Polish language, deduce Cossak from the agility of their motion, or from the skins with which they were clad<sup>2</sup>. Others, more absurdly, from " chodzik," to walk, or " kosi" barks or pinnaces<sup>3</sup>. But as Cossak, in the sense which I have first mentioned, is a word of common occurrence in Des Guignes' history; and was a frequent agnomen not only to individuals, but to entire tribes; and as Tcherkash, or Tcherkassi, has no meaning in any language but the Turkish, I apprehend that we may with most probability, conclude the names, both of the Cossaks and of their cities, to be derived from the Tartar nations who surrounded them, and who were lords of the soil at the time when they first appeared.

XXXV.—With the origin, however, and degree of antiquity thus assigned to them, it is possible that neither the Cossaks themselves, nor many of those who have written respecting them, will be satisfied. Des Guignes, who did not unite to his valuable industry any great degree of critical acumen, supposes them to have been originally Cumanians, whose other name of Capthad, or Kapshak, he would gladly, I know not on what principle of etymology, convert into Cossak. He pretends, in like manner, that their features are oriental, which is absolutely contrary to the fact: he supposes them to have been converted by Dominican missionaries, whereas they are, and always have been, of the Greek religion; and, forgetting that his own Cumani were not Mahomedans, he asserts, in equal contempt of truth, that the present Cossaks retain many Mahomedan rites in their religion.

That the Cumani fugitives may have formed, at first, no inconsiderable part of the Cossak establishments, is certainly not improbable, though a race whose previous habits were exclusively Scythian, would have ill accorded with the amphibious situation of the people whom I am now describing. But though these and many other fugitives of all nations have possibly found an asylum with the Cossaks, the dialect of this last people,

<sup>1</sup> Joan Herbinus. Kiovia Subterranea, c. 2, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Piasecius Chronicon Polon. ad ann. 1643, p. 53.

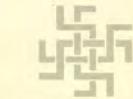
<sup>3</sup> Pastor Hist. Polon. Plenior, lib. 1. p. 14.

which is pure Slavonic, and their religion, which has ever been the same with that of the Russians, evince that this is the stock from which their main population has emanated. And the recruits which they have received from other tribes, though, by the well-known effect of a mixture of breeds, the appearance of the animal has been improved, have not been sufficient to corrupt their language, or to give an Asiatic expression to their physiognomy. As it has, nevertheless, been asserted by Scherer, that they were originally called Chozares, a circumstance which may seem to connect them with the mighty Turkish nation of that name; and as my friend, Dr. Clarke, has suggested the probability of their being originally a tribe of Circassians, the following short sketch of their respective systems may not be uninteresting to the reader.

XXXVI.—Scherer's opinion is founded, as he assures us, on the information of the Zaporogian Cossaks themselves, who gave the following account of their origin and first military achievement<sup>1</sup>:—About the year 800 a solitary Polish adventurer, of the name of Simeon, established his summer residence on a kossa, or small sandy promontory of the Liman<sup>2</sup>, or common estuary of the rivers Bog and Dnieper. His success in the chace of wild boars and deer, both of which are very numerous in the marshes and islets of these great streams, procured him, in the following spring, no less than one hundred associates, whose attaman, or captain, he became. The swarm of hunters, or robbers, (for from the one to the other character the transition, under such circumstances, was easy and almost certain,) grew rapidly in number and power; and, from their skill in archery, obtained the name of Chozars. In the year 948 their renown had extended so far as Czaragrad, (as the Slavonians call Constantinople;) and the Greek emperor, being at war with the “Turks who were called Saracens,” despatched an emissary to engage in his service the bowmen, “who never missed their aim.” These hunters, having swelled their numbers by two thousand recruits from the Ukraine, in particular from the little towns of Lisinka and Medvedevka, sailed for the Danube, defeated the Turks in many engagements, destroyed their villages, and returned in triumph with a vast body of slaves and cattle, and a letter of recommendation from the emperor to “the king of Poland,” acknowledging their services, and praying

<sup>1</sup> Scherer Histoire de Petite Russie, tom. 1, c. 7. p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Scherer absurdly supposes Liman to have been the name of a town; and does not seem either to have known that Czaragrad meant Constantinople.



that they might thenceforth, instead of their ancient name of Chozar, be called by that of Cossak. Why this last was a more warlike or honourable appellation, Scherer does not inform us; but this is not the only absurdity in this specimen of Scythian tradition. In the year 800, and for almost two hundred years afterwards, the Poles were not converted to Christianity, and the name of Simeon was, therefore, not likely to be found among them<sup>1</sup>. The mighty Turkish nation of Chozares were at this time the sovereigns and occupants of all Scythia; so that a little knot of Polish exiles would certainly not be so called. If the Poles had a king at all in the tenth century, which is by no means certain, he had surely no authority over the principality of Kief, nor at that time could the Poles have read the letters which the emperor of Greece sent to them. The mention of either Turks or Saracens in Greece at so early a period, may reasonably excite a smile; and, lastly, the silence observed both by Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Nestor, is a proof that no such armament as is here described, had been sent by any tribe of Slavonians to the assistance of the emperor.

XXXVII.—Ignorant, however, and credulous as Scherer undoubtedly was, his fidelity is, I believe, unimpeached; and I have little doubt that he received, as he professes, from the Cossaks themselves, the substance of this extraordinary narrative. There are many circumstances (such as the names of Czaragrad and Liman) which he did not understand, and could not, therefore, have invented; and the story has been evidently told by some one who knew nothing of the Chozares as a nation, and only understood the word in its later and more common sense of a light-horseman, or archer, a sense first derived from the cavalry of that nation in the service of the lower empire, and since, under the easy corruption of Huzzar, universally adopted in Europe<sup>2</sup>. And as all popular traditions, however obscured

<sup>1</sup> *Plugossi Hist. Polon. Lib. 2. pp. 124. 173. edit. Francofurt, MDCCXI.*

<sup>2</sup> That the name of Chosar became, by degrees, (like that of Swiss, in modern France, for a porter, and Scotchman, in England, for a pedlar,) from a national, to be a professional appellation for a light horseman, may be inferred from Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cæri moniis*, l. ii. c. 48, p. 398. The transition to Houssar, Hussar, or, as the Russians still spell it, Guzar, is easy and obvious. This word, indeed, is generally considered as belonging to the Hungarian language, and derived from "Husz," which means "twenty," one man in twenty having been, as is pretended, the contingent furnished to this species of force by the peasants. But "the twentieth" is not, in the Hungarian language, "Hussar," but "Huszar." The name of this species of cavalry is met with in the Polish histories as soon as in the Hun-

in their circumstances, are, in some measure, founded on fact, it is possible that just so much of this history may be true as relates to the original character of the Zaporogian establishment, and the name of its founder. The dates which, of all other circumstances, were most likely to be confused by a barbarous people, must, however, be given up; and the expedition against the Turks, and the recommendatory letter from the emperor of Constantinople to the king of Poland, might be very natural inventions to raise the honour of their tribe in the opinion of a stranger, but are such as few strangers would have swallowed with so much facility as Scherer has done. At all events, if, at the time of the first establishment of the Zaporogi, the mouth of the Dnieper was subject to the king of Poland, we must refer their foundation to no earlier period than the reign of Cassimir the First, in 1340, since, at that time the Poles first obtained the sovereignty of Kief. It may be observed, too, that though Scherer's informant supposed the Cossaks to have born originally the name of Chozares, he believed the one as well as the other title to be merely that of their warlike profession, and that he had evidently no idea that they sprung from any but a Slavonic stock.

XXXVIII.—Dr. Clarke has, in like manner, given the traditional account of the Don Cossaks as he received it from themselves, to the following effect and substance:—A small body of Grecian exiles, at some unknown period, posterior to the erection of the Tartar town of Azoph, being refused an asylum in this last-named place, established themselves on the marshy islets higher up the river, where they called their village “Tcher-kasköy,” or “the small village of the Circassians.” And from this small beginning, augmented by recruits from the neighbouring Circassians, the mighty horde of the Cossaks had its origin, which has since extended itself from Siberia to the frontiers of Poland.

I shall not comment on the position which, though more than doubtful, is here taken for granted, that the Cossak establishments on the Dnieper are of later date than those of the Don; but, first, it does not appear why a Greek colony should assume a Turkish name, or call itself the small village of the Circassians, because there were some of that people in its neighbourhood; nor, secondly, are any Circassians to be found, in modern times, within about three hundred miles of the Don; nor have I met with

garian; and Gyarmati (*affinitas Lingua Hungarica*, p. 312,) marks “Hussar” with an asterisk as a word of foreign extraction.



APPEN-  
DIX.

a single historian of credit who assigns them, at any former period, a different abode from that which they at present occupy. And it appears from the testimony of Rubruquis, already noticed, that, in his time, the inhabitants of the country about the Don were Russians. But, thirdly, the name of the chief town of the Donskoy Cossaks is not, as my learned friend supposes, Tcherkaskoy, but Tcherkask, or Cherkasque. It is accordingly, thus spelt in the best maps, those of D'Anville and Arrowsmith, in the large map of European Russia published by government, and in the common road-books of the country, both in Russ and German, "Köy," or "Ky," being, in Slavonic, the adjective termination, and "Tcherkasköy" signifying nothing more than "of, or belonging to Tcherkask." That Tcherkask, therefore, was called after the Circassians, is by no means probable; and that the Cossaks who inhabit Tcherkask, much more those who resided on the Dnieper, are descended from any of the tribes of Caucasus, is very unlikely, when we consider that the same purity of language which forbids us to suppose that they are descended from the Cumani, will apply with equal force against the claim of any progenitors not speaking the Slavonic tongue, which, as we have already seen, has, during the period embraced by history, extended itself, not as is generally supposed from the east, but on the contrary, from the west to the eastward<sup>1</sup>. If, then, the Circassians were found to agree in language with the Slavons, it might rather be supposed that the first were a colony of the latter, than that any tribe of these last had retrograded westward. But as, in truth, the languages of Caucasus are altogether different from the Slavonic, it will follow that no connection either way is to be sought for between them; and that the Cossaks, using the Slavonic tongue, can have had, at most, but a very slight connection with the Circassians.

XXXIX.—Dr. Clarke, indeed, is of opinion that the Cossaks may have adopted the language which they now speak at the time of their conversion to Christianity. It is with very real diffidence that I differ from him; but it cannot but occur to his more mature reflection, that the acquirement of a new language by a barbarous nation is not likely to be so complete as that they should excel their teachers; or that their new

<sup>1</sup> For these particulars, and for the superior purity of the Slavonic spoken by the Cossaks to the language of either Russians or Poles, I am indebted, principally, to Captain Ury Lisiansky, of the Russian navy, and the first circumnavigator of that nation, who, as being himself a native of Malo Russia, and consequently half a Cossak, is better able to speak to whatever questions concern their antiquities or their present situation.

dialect should be free from all traces of that to which their parents and their own infancy had been accustomed. When the conquerors of the north adopted the Roman laws and religion, what a jargon did they make of their language? It is still more improbable that, while the Cossacks continued to subsist in a numerous and compact society, they should have ceased to use among themselves their native and accustomed speech; since, even in the least favourable situations, experience shows how long the Cornish in Briton, the Wends in Germany, the Basques in Spain, the Mordvini in Russia, and all the gipseys all over the world, have preserved their national and distinctive tongue. Nor, as we have no account of any more recent period at which the Cossacks were converted to Christianity, can we help concluding that they were, at the time of the conversion of Volodimir, a part of the same great Russian nation, with whom they agree so exactly in their language, their ritual, and their ancient religious peculiarities. Had their Christianity proceeded from Armenia, they would have partaken in the Armenians' opinion of Christ's nature; had they been converted by the Russians at a recent period, the doctrines of the Raskolniki would not have been so prevalent among them. Dr. Clarke appears to lay considerable stress on the personal advantages of the Cossacks over the Russians, and pronounces boldly that no one who sees them can imagine that they have any thing in common, except the language which they now speak. I certainly do not think so meanly of the northern Russians as my learned friend does; nor was I able to distinguish any greater superiority in the appearance of the Cossacks than what better fare, a better climate, and the absence of slavery, were likely to effect. Nor, if the comparison were made, not with the Russians in the neighbourhood of Moscow and Petersburg, who are generally an under-sized and sandy-haired race, but with the inhabitants of Yaroslav and Kostroma on the north, and Malo-Russia on the south, would the Cossacks have much to boast of. Above all, the southern Slavons of Podolia and Hungary are remarkable for their personal advantages; and it is, perhaps, attributable in part to a mixture of Finnic blood, that those of the north fall short of them in these particulars. Nor can it, surely, have escaped so accurate an observer as Dr. Clarke, that the Cossak and Circassian features, though both handsome, have a very different style of expression; and that in passing along the borders, it was no difficult matter to distinguish where the breeds had intermingled.

XL.—It is true, however, that at the foot of Caucasus, and, appa-



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rently, in the district now occupied by the Circassian horde of Cabarda, we find, in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, a region called Casachia; and that Chardin, as I have lately discovered, notices in his travels a race called Cosaques in the north of Persia. But the first of these, who, with their chief, Rededa, were defeated and subdued in the eleventh century by Misitlav, the Russian prince of the isle of Taman, were, apparently, the same people with the Kirgees, whom Rubruquis places in the neighbourhood of Caucasus, and who still preserve, in their present abode beyond the Caspian, the name of Kaisak, or Casak, and the tradition of their western origin. And, though it is not improbable that a small party of Cossaks may have deserted, at an early period, the Russian for the Persian service, and may have thus founded that tribe which Chardin mentions, we require some more information as to their language, before we can decide whether they belong to the Kirgees or the Slavonians, to the Cossak or the Kaisak race. But whichever of these notions be correct, neither Cossaks nor Kaisaks can thus be proved to have been Circassians. And though many Circassians have, at different periods, served the Russian government in the same way, and on the same footing as the Cossaks, the manner in which the two races are uniformly distinguished in the Russian histories, is an additional proof that none but foreigners have ever confounded them together.

XLI.—The Circassians themselves, in their two main divisions of the Great and Little Cabarda, form a numerous and warlike nation, which is in every respect one of the most singular and perplexing features in the history of the tribes of Caucasus. Their language differs not only from the Slavonic, but from the Turkish, Mongolian, and every other neighbouring dialect. Their religion was, till of late, a corrupted Christianity; and still, though the great body of their nation conform themselves outwardly to Mahomedanism, they pay a certain reverence to the cross, and bow at the name of Jesus. It is a common practice for their wood-cutters to surmount a stack of faggots with a small cross, as an almost infallible method of preserving the whole from plunder, which, under such circumstances, would be thought sacrilegious; and the severe winters of 1804 and 1805 had nearly driven them to open apostacy from Islamism, as they asserted that such calamities had never befallen their fathers in the days when they worshipped Christ. Yet the labours of some Scottish missionaries, to one of whom, the Reverend Mr. Paterson, this work is under many obligations, produced but little advantageous effect on their minds; as, though it would have been no difficult matter to have baptized any given number in a day,

few would consent to unlearn the spirit of revenge which the want of a regular government infallibly engenders, or abandon their inveterate habits of plunder and slave-dealing. These habits, and the deadly feuds which arise from them, make travelling in their country dangerous and almost impossible. When at Ecatherinodar, Mr. Thornton and I applied in vain to the Cossak officers for the means of penetrating across the frontier to such, at least, of the villages as were on friendly terms with the Russians, and whose warriors were in the constant habit of attending the market held daily at the quarantine. The uniform reply was, that no introductions could be obtained to their chiefs; that, even in a friendly village, there would be many arrows and musquets levelled against any one who came from the Cossaks, by such as had lost their kindred in wars with Russia, and who would, therefore, seek for revenge on the first European who might fall in their way. Such, indeed, was the state of the frontier, that our journey from Ecatherinodar to Taman, though in a time of profound peace between Russia and Turkey, was performed under a strong escort; and we were menaced one night by the appearance of seventy Circassians, who had, however, as we had afterwards reason to believe, another object in view; or, at least, from the appearance of our guard, concluded that the country was prepared for them. Every person whom we met was armed; even the people employed in cutting reeds had their spears stuck in the ground within reach; and when, in one of the wilder parts of the district, I left the fort where our horses and escort were changed, to walk to a shrubby hill, at little more than a quarter of a mile's distance, to take a sketch of the opposite range of Caucasus, the Cossaks called after me not to go without my sword, as, even in such a situation, an ambush was not impossible. On my return I found my companion, his servant, and a little knot of Cossaks surrounding the door of a miserable hut of reeds, erected without the wall of the fort, in which, on some rushes, and under the guard of a sentinel with a lance, lay a Circassian prisoner. He had, that morning, swam across the river, from the party which had alarmed our guard the night before, and had requested an asylum from the Cossaks, who called him a "prince," and said he was a man of considerable power. His figure was tall and slender, but muscular and bony, with a hard weather-beaten countenance, which was then, however, softened to tears. His dress resembled that of the Circassian nobles, as described by Dr. Clarke. I asked the Cossaks why a warrior like him was thus in tears. They repeated the question to him in Turkish, and received the following answer,



APPENDIX.

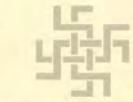
which, however, I am only able to give on their authority, and from the interpretation of our servant, who induced them to repeat the whole account at night, as we supped with them on boiled fish, round a fire of reeds, in a subterranean hut near Tremruk.

—He was in love, he told them, with a handsome girl, the daughter of a neighbouring chieftain, whose father asked more *usluks* as her price than he was able to pay. Determined, at all events, to obtain her, and having reason to believe that she was not insensible to his merits, he bribed an old woman, her mother-in-law, to give her notice of his intentions, and to be herself in readiness to let him into the house on a certain night, which was the one immediately preceding our interview with him. He had left his own village with the horsemen whom our Cossaks had seen, soon after dusk, and reached the village and house of his intended wife without difficulty. The dwelling was at once surrounded and broken open; the two brothers rushed to defend their sister, and both died bravely fighting on the threshold of the women's apartment. He succeeded in carrying off both his prize and the old woman; but another female, and the father of the family, had broken through the reed enclosure of their habitation, and had given, in the mean time, the alarm to the village. The ravisher and his party were immediately pursued, and overtaken on the banks of the Cuban, by an overwhelming superiority of numbers. The conclusion of the story is easily anticipated; his friends were slain or dispersed; his horse killed under him; his sabre shivered to pieces in his hand; the unhappy cause of so much bloodshed was torn from his embrace; and he himself, disarmed and bleeding, only escaped death by crawling into the stream, and swimming across, under cover of the surrounding darkness. The reason for his tears still remains to be told. “ He knew the fortune which would now befall the girl; no Circassian could pay the price which her parents demanded; he should see her no more; she would be sold to the Turks; and was not this sufficient reason why a warrior and a sultan should weep ? ”

—We could not learn from our Cossak friends whether this sort of woman-stealing was an ordinary incident in Circassian amours; but they complained most heavily of their continual forays across the river to drive away cattle, and steal slaves, both male and female, from the Cossak stanitza. They are, indeed, the principal slave-factors on this coast; and it is in no small degree to this circumstance that the Circassian women owe their high renown for beauty, since, though many of them, no doubt,

most fully deserve the character, they have engrossed to their own nation many of the praises due to Cossak, Georgian, and Tartar girls, who, as they passed through the hands of Circassian traders, all bore the name of Circassians. The real Circassians have, indeed, fine figures and fair complexions, but are almost universally deficient in bloom, in which particular the Cossaks and Georgians leave them far behind. Their health is often sacrificed to their admiration of a small waist, which is obtained by a broad leather belt being sewed round the body in early life, and renewed by one something larger when the growth of the girl renders it necessary. The women are secluded, though not so closely as those of the Turks; but the men are accused of being excessively jealous.

XLIV.—Their government is perfectly feudal, and the chiefs of villages pay very little regard to the Turkish sultan or the bashaw of Anapa. Some of these chiefs, who are on good terms with the Russians, are called princes; others, who pretend to be descended from the blood royal of the Crimea, call themselves sultans, and assume the family title of "Gerai." One of these last came to visit us during our stay in Taman, far better dressed than any whom we had seen before, and attended by six followers, most gallantly mounted and armed. His name was Selim, a very handsome young man, of about two-and-twenty; his dress was a caftan of yellow silk, with a bright coat of mail under it, which was seen at the wrists and neck. He had tight scarlet pantaloons laced with silver, and yellow slippers without heels. His arms were a sabre, a poignard, one long Turkish pistol slung, without a holster, across his saddle's pommel; a bow and quiver, both in cases of red and embroidered leather, and suspended from his girdle; he had a horn for powder, and on his breast a row of tin pipes for cartridges, covered with red cloth, and sewed to his kaftan; his ankles were bare. Of his attendants, one was called "attaman" by the Cossaks, as being himself the subordinate chief of a village; they were less gaily dressed than their sultan, but still better armed, having carbines instead of bows. Some of these Circassians carry small lances; all who can afford it have coats of mail. The bow and quiver are a mark of distinction, and are now rarely seen, except on their sultans on occasions of ceremony. Our friend Selim was by no means expert in the use of his. The foot are armed, for the most part, with long Turkish guns, which are used with rests, and have often only matchlocks. The coats of mail and fire-arms are brought from Persia and Constantinople; the sabres and poignards are of their own manufacture, and most beautifully tempered, though by no

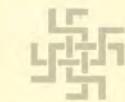


means showy weapons, being small, and altogether without ornament. Their horses are of an excellent breed, and, like all those of the Cossaks, Calmuks, and Poles, have the singular property of sweating blood when much heated, the skin being full of small vessels, which are apt to burst continually. I have seen this haemorrhage so considerable, as that the whole horse's hide was clotted and stained, without any ill treatment, or use of either spur or the shovel stirrup common in these countries. The Cossaks regard the discharge as salutary.

XLV.—Many of the Tartar tribes who have been expelled from the northern bank of the Cuban by the Cossaks, are now blended with the Circassians, and have considerably corrupted both their language and national countenance. But the real Circassians disclaim all Tartar blood. They derive, if we believe their own traditions, their name of Tcherkassi (for this is the word which we have changed into Circassian) from two chieftains, Tcher and Kiss, who led their nation, at some unknown and early period, from Egypt to Caucasus. As to the fact of Egypt being their original country, they are unanimous; and my friend, Mr. Pinkerton, has a manuscript in the Circassian language, which was presented to him by one of their most learned moullahs, in which the same pedigree is unequivocally asserted. It is impossible not to be struck with the coincidence between this strange story and the parallel statement in Herodotus, who derives the ancient Colchis from an Egyptian colony left by Sesostris. In the circumstances of similarity which, in his time, confirmed this descent, I know not that the Circassians partake. The language of the Colchians and Egyptians was the same; but the modern Circassian and the Coptic have never yet been compared, nor am I qualified to compare them. The woolly or curly hair and dark complexion which were then common to both, is not now visible in the former; and I have not been able to learn that there is any peculiarity in the Circassian system of making linen. Circumcision they might have received from the Mahomedans; so that no inference can be drawn from its prevalence among them. There is a practice which we heard ascribed to them by a person who, of all Europeans now living, has seen most of these mountains, and which has, doubtless, a remarkable correspondence with the ancient superstitions of Egypt. They are said to pay religious honours to the cat; but of this custom, when I was myself on their frontiers, I could learn nothing, and the Cossaks had never heard of it. On the whole, it would be very hazardous to rest our belief of a fact so improbable as the descent of the Circassians from Egypt,

on the traditions of a people so utterly barbarous, unless it were confirmed by some additional circumstances. It may, indeed, be doubted whether, as they have once been Christians, and more closely connected with the Greeks than they are at present, they may not have received this notion of their Egyptian ancestry from the latter people, who had themselves drawn it from Herodotus, on whose testimony, therefore, it would still depend. Yet whatever may be our doubts as to the Colchians being an Egyptian colony, this tradition among the modern Tcherkassi is at least a proof, so far as it goes, of what is in itself perfectly probable, that they are themselves the descendants of the ancient Colchians, and the kindred of Ætes and Medea.

The Circassians have not, however, the least suspicion that any relationship exists between the Cossaks and themselves, or that their ancestors had any share in naming or building the metropolis of the Don. Their only connexion with each other, at present, is in the way of war and barter. The latter intercourse is carried on at different markets, where adherence to the rules of quarantine, though enjoined, is not rigidly adhered to. The Cossaks bring salt to the market; the Circassians, millet, rye, barley, and a little wheat, which are exchanged in the proportion of two measures of grain against one of salt. The agriculture of the Circassians is said to be good; but the Cossaks are not very competent judges. Their villages are, like all in these countries, irregular collections of huts, built of clay and reeds; but their situations, and the groves and orchards which surround them, are often beautiful. The fine air of these mountains, and their exemption from the curses of the plain, frogs, toads, venomous serpents, mosquitoes, and typhus fever, were often spoken of with rapture by the Cossaks of Taman, who seldom described them without a concluding wish that they had permission from the emperor to go and seize on those goodly lands for themselves, which were now, they said, the hiding-holes of savages, thieves, and murderers. This is, indeed, a very different picture from that which Collins has given of the Circassians whom he describes; and it is not impossible that, had we been on the other side of the Cuban, we should have heard an almost similar account of the Cossaks. Violence and blood-shed are, unhappily, the invariable characteristics of uncivilized man; and those rude warriors who are most interesting in painting or in poetry, are often, of all men, the worst neighbours, and those with whom it is well to have the fewest dealings.



“ Some sterner virtues on the mountain’s breast  
 May sit, like falcons cowering o’er their nest.  
 But all the gentler morals, such as play  
 Through life’s more cultured walks, and charm the way,  
 These, far dispers’d, on timorous pinions fly,  
 To sport and flutter in a milder sky.”

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### BOOK III.

I.—THE first notice which is taken in Russian history of those predatory communities from whom the Cossaks are descended, is in the year 1382, and during the reign of the Russian prince Demetrius the Fourth, when two thousand vagabonds and pirates, encouraged, as was supposed, and led on by some dissolute citizens of Novogorod, advanced from their various retreats on the Don and Volga against the Tartar city of Casan, which was not, as yet, the seat of an independant sovereignty, but was governed by a Mirza, appointed by the Khâns of Kapshak. Casan is strong by situation, and was at that time sufficiently fortified by art to defy the attacks of even a more regular force than now assailed it. The inhabitants were, however, so far surprized that, instead of an honourable resistance, they consented to ransom their town as the only expedient of saving it, and the freebooters departed in triumph. But they had now so far tasted the sweets of success that they were little inclined to retire without further violence, and ascending the Volga in their boats up to Kostroma, a Russian and Christian city, 200 miles further north west, made the same demand as at Casan. The inhabitants sallied from their intrenchment of turf and slates (the usual defence in those days of a Russian fortress) to attack the party which menaced them from the river ; but one half of the assailants had left their boats further down, and had taken post in a wood close to the city. While the inhabitants were engaged with their visible enemies, this ambush rose from its concealment, and Kostroma was taken by the same stratagem which Joshua had employed against Ai. The conduct of the conquerors in every respect resembled that of the American buccaneers ; they remained a whole week in Kostroma, indulging in every kind of cruelty and

brutality, and having burnt or destroyed whatever they could not carry away, they again embarked on the Volga. At Nishni Novogorod, half way between Kostroma and Casan, they found the inhabitants prepared to oppose their return, and another contest ensued which ended favourably for the robbers. Novogorod shared the same fate with Kostroma, and was reduced to ashes. Sarai, or Saratof, a Tartar city of considerable trade and importance, was next assaulted ; and the merchants, both Christian and Mohamedan, were plundered and massacred without pity. Having thus rendered themselves obnoxious equally to Russians and Tartars, they had the inconceivable boldness to sail with all their booty to Astrachan, which is now first mentioned in history as a sovereignty distinct from the empire of Kapshak, and there to offer publicly for sale the slaves and property which they had acquired by an indiscriminate pillage of the subjects and allies of the Khân. It gives us no very lofty idea of Mongolian heroism to find that a sovereign, who had at least the nominal command of all the warlike and numerous hordes from Petchora to the Caspian, was compelled to temporize and tremble before this handful of barbarians ; and an explanation of this difficulty can only be found in the personal character of Salsrei who then sat on the throne ; or in the distracted state of all Tartary, which was at that time crouching beneath the suspended arm of Tamerlane. The Khân received his piratical visitors with an outward show of good will, invited them to a banquet, and when the hydromel and arika had sufficiently circulated, put them all to death without exception. But though he thus chastized the robbers, he is not recorded to have restored the prey to its lawful owners, or to that liberty of which the human part of the cargo had been unjustly deprived. The gold and furs went into the treasury of Astrachan ; and the wretched captives had only the consolation of being rather sold for the benefit of a descendant of Zinghis Khân, than for that of the thieves who had stolen them<sup>1</sup>.

II.—The next exploit of the Cossaks (for by this name they already began to be known) was of a less shameful character ; and they appear as the valiant supporters of an unfortunate and exiled sovereign. The kingdom of Casan, or Kipshak, separated from the parent state of Kapshak about the commencement of the fifteenth century, had by its intestine divisions, and the misgovernment of its sovereigns, fallen an easy prey to the valour of the great prince of Russia, Ivan the Third, surnamed

<sup>1</sup> L'Evesque, tom i. p. 242. Des Guignes, tom. iii. p. 356.

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the victorious, the first who dared to reject with scorn the Basma, or investiture of the Golden Horde. The Mohamedans of Casan, still, indeed retained the shadow of independance, but their khâns were proclaimed and displaced at pleasure by their powerful Christian neighbours. Shekh-Ali, one of these phantoms of royalty, whom the great prince Basil had, in 1517, elevated to the throne, was obnoxious to his people on every account, as the supposed tool of Russia, and as being divested of all those exterior graces which attach a warlike and barbarous nation to their leader. "He had," say the Russian historians, "the countenance of an ugly old woman, long hanging ears, a prominent belly, short and swelled legs." To these slighter causes of discontent, more serious ones were speedily superadded. The Russian troops whom Basil had left in Casan with their *voievode*, or governor, Karpof, were insulted by the populace who were headed by some grandes, and Shekh Ali, faithful to his master, called in his own adherents and retainers to their aid, and punished as rebels with the utmost severity, all who had manifested an anti-Russian spirit. Such a state of things could not endure long. In 1521 the men of Casan invited secretly Sap Gerai, son of Mildi Gerai, Khân of the Crimea, to come and be their king; and before either Shekh Ali or Karpof appear to have suspected their danger, a formidable insurrection appeared in the heart of Casan. A thousand Russians, nearly the whole number of the garrison, and five thousand of Shekh Ali's Tartars were cut off in the first surprize. The Christian inhabitants of Casan were indiscriminately put to death; but Sap Gerai respected in the person of the voievode, the power of the Russian sovereign, and in Shekh Ali, the blood of Zinghis, and contented himself with turning them out of his dominions on foot and unattended. The wretched Khân had recourse to the robbers and fishermen of the Volga, and appeared, in less than a year, at the head of ten thousand Cossaks, who, so soon as the fishing season was over, from whence their army was to be provisioned, swore never to desert him till he was again seated on the throne. But their tumultuary army was able to accomplish but little against the cavalry of the Baschkirs and the ramparts of Casan. The greater part perished by dysenteries and want; and when at length the great prince Basil came to the support of Shekh Ali with a numerous body of troops, and a long train of boats laden with provisions, he seems to have derived no assistance from these unfortunate volunteers.

Such an exertion, however, was likely to bring their communities into favourable notice with the Russians; and not long afterwards, we find

three several bodies of Cossaks in possession of nearly the same privileges which their descendants now enjoy.

III.—While the Cossaks of the Don and Volga were thus active against the Tartars of Casan, those of the Dnieper were equally renowned for their victories over the Crimean Khâns. Lanskaronsky, the first of their attamans, or hetmans, whose name is known to history, made an excursion, in 1526, against the Tartars, with about twelve hundred volunteers, and returned loaded with booty, and delighted with their newly-acquired confidence in themselves<sup>1</sup>. In the following year they obtained a still more considerable advantage over a retreating army of twenty thousand Tartars, whom they surrounded and cut off almost to the last man<sup>2</sup>. And in 1535 we find the Cossaks courted by both Russians and Poles, and assuming the appearance and tone of a regular and independant republic. In the west of Scythia they had already extended their settlements beyond those islands and marshes which were their original retreats; and occupied, with their herds of cattle and their fortified villages, the whole southern frontier of Russia and Poland, a fair and fertile district, which was, in part, protected from the inroads of the Tartar cavalry by the winding and rapid stream of the Orel, and which, under the name of Ukraine, or "Border," was regarded by the then neighbouring states, Poles, Russians, and Tartars, as equally exempt from their protection and their government. Such a situation was singularly favourable to the growth of wild and independant habits; and the institutions of the Cossaks at this period, and their manner of making war, are as singular as any which are recorded in ancient or modern history.

Though the Ukraine be more adorned with timber than the south of Scythia, the forests are neither extensive nor numerous; but wherever any coppice or shrubby ground existed, the Cossaks were careful to collect such situations for their villages, both as affording in themselves some protection against cavalry, and as furnishing the materials for their fortifications. A strong hedge of thorns was generally the outermost fence; within, at thirty yards' distance, was often, though not always, a palisado, with a fossée and low rampart of earth. Within this second circle were their habitations; the best of them of clay and wicker; the poorest, square holes in the ground, covered with strong rafters, and heaped up above with grass and rubbish to the resemblance of a large dunghill. A low and steep entrance,

<sup>1</sup> Plotho, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Des Guignes, tom. iii. p. 399.

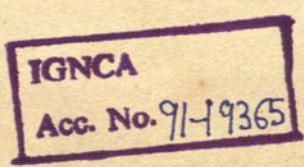
more like that to a fox's earth, than any door to the habitation of man, admitted the women and children. The men often preferred, (like the savages of Unalascha described by Cook) the hole in the roof, by which the smoke ascended. This custom exists no longer; but the "zemlianki," or "earth houses," for so these burrows are called, are still met with in many parts of the steppe, and are no despicable shelter in a climate so severe as that of Scythia. By degrees, as their numbers and sense of security increased, they began to cultivate the ground in the neighbourhood of their villages; their villages grew into respectable towns; their entrenchments were furnished with cannon; they built Churches and monasteries; and no part of Malo or Little Russia, for this was the general name for the principality of Kief, was better peopled or cultivated than the border.

IV.—It was, however, in the islands of the Dnieper, that they kept the seat of their government, and the archives of their union. Here only they were at home; and they felt that amid this labyrinth of rocks and marshes, they were secure against all probable attack, and might build their boats and plan their expeditions undisturbed and unseen. A certain quantity of corn and fish was annually laid up in these retreats; and as they were merely places of arms, and garrisoned by the younger Cossacks by turns, no woman was allowed to enter them. When danger was apprehended, the women and children were collected in the remoter villages, or concealed in the woody banks of the river; but the isles of the warriors, like the Irish retreat of St. Senanus, were not to be profaned by a female foot. This custom, which gradually fell into decay among the northern Cossacks, was preserved by the Zaporogians till the removal of their republic to the Cuban; and even now their forts are, in this respect, as rigid as monasteries.

END OF VOL. I.

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